This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLUTARCH'S

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GRECIANS AND ROMANS

ENGLISHED BY

SIR THOMAS NORTH

ANNO 1579

With an Introduction by

GEORGE WYNDHAM

FOURTH VOLUME

LONDON

Published by DAVID NUTT

IN THE STRAND

1895

Digitized by Google

376613

Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty

VIA MIL

Digitized by Google

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES

compared by PLUTARKE of CHÆRONEA

VOLUME IV

NICIAS	PAGE 1	*compared* PAGE	91
MARCUS CRASSUS .	„ 44		
SERTORIUS . . .	„ 97	*compared* „	157
EUMENES . . .	„ 130		
AGESILAUS . . .	„ 159	*compared* „	293
POMPEIUS . . .	„ 206		
ALEXANDER . . .	„ 298		

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE LIFE OF NICIAS

HAVE reason (as I thinke) to compare Nicias with Crassus, and the events that happened to the one in Parthia, with those that befell the other in Sicyle: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my wrytinges, not to thinke me in entermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, Thucydides hath gone beyond him selfe, both for variety and livelines of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion, that Timæus the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the gravety and life of his words and reportes, to darken the glorie of Thucydides, and make Philistus (in comparison of him selfe) appeare ignoraunt, and without any grace of historicall narration: hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by sea and by land, and the reporte of those speches and orations, which are delivered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neere them whome he contendes to passe, as doth the footeman to the Lydian coche, as sayth Pindarus: and besides sheweth him selfe fond and of small judgement, or as Diphilus sayth,

The praise of Thucydides.

Timæus follies.

A lubber laden with Sicylian grease.

And in divers places, he falleth into Xenarchus follies. As where he sayth, that he thinkes it was an evill token for the Athenians, that Nicias the Captaine (whose name was derived of this word *Nice*, signifying victory) disswaded their attempts against Sicyle: and that by the throwing downe

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

and mangling of the Hermes (to say, the images of Mercury) it was foreshewed that they should receive great overthrowes by the General of the Syracusans, called Hermocrates, the sonne of Hermon. And further, that it was not unlikely that Hercules did favor the Syracusans, by reason of the goddesse Proserpina, (protector and defendor of the citie of Syracusa) to requite her for that she gave him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the Athenians besides, bicause they tooke the Ægestæans partes: (who came of the Troyans, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose city him selfe had overthrowen in revenge of the wrong that Laomedon king of Troy had offered him. Howbeit Timæus shewes as much wit and judgement, in delivering us such toyes in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of Philistus, or in condemning and railing of Plato and Aristotle. But in my fansie, this ambition and contention to wryte or to speake more clerkely then others, sheweth alwayes a base envious minde, like a scholler full of his schoole pointes. But when it striveth with thinges that are past all chalenge and correcting, then is it extreame follie and madnes. Sence therefore I may not passe over nor omit certaine thinges, which Thucydides and Philistus have already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open Nicias nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and fortune did cover: I must lightly touch them, and reporte so much as is necessary, and convenient, least men condemne me, for slouth and negligence. And in the rest I have endevored to gather and propounde thinges not commonly marked and knowen, which I have collected as well out of sundry mens workes and auncient recordes, as out of many olde antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will serve (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of Nicias therefore may be sayd that which Aristotle hath wrytten of him: that there were three famous citizens of Atthens, very honest men, and which favored the communalty with a naturall fatherly love: Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, Thucydides the sonne of Milesius, and Theramenes the sonne of Agnon. But of the three, this last was

Timæus reproveth Plato and Aristotle.

Nicias equalls.

Digitized by Google

of smallest accompt: for he is flowted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of Ceos, and chalenged besides for inconstant and inresolute in matters of state and government: and inclining somtimes to one faction, sometime to an other, he was called Cothurnus, a kinde of buskin indifferently serving for both legges, and in old time was used of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, Thucydides being the elder, did many good actes in favor of the nobility against Pericles, who alwaies tooke parte with the inferior sorte. Nicias that was the younger, had reasonable estimation in Pericles life time: for he was joyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by him selfe alone without him. After Pericles death, the nobility raised him to great authoritie, to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against Cleons insolency and boldnes: and with all, he had the love of the people, to advaunce and preferre him. Now this Cleon in troth could do much with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an olde man, still feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they them selves whome he thus flattered, knowing his extreame covetousnes, impudency, and boldnes, preferred Nicias before him, bicause his gravity was not severe nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modesty, that he seemed to feare the presence of the people, which made them thereby the more to love and esteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull and mistrustfull nature and disposition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which ever favored him alike in all his jorneys and exploytes that he tooke in hande where he was Captaine. Now being much affrayed of accusers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the citie, was founde to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof rose daily more and more, bicause the people commonly feare those that hate them, and advaunce them that feare them. For the greatest honor nobility can doe to the communalty, is to shewe that they doe not despise them. Nowe Pericles, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state and common wealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeate colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their favor and

Nicias, a timerous man.

The nature of the people.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

good willes: but Nicias lacking that, and having wealth enough, sought thereby to creepe into the peoples favor. And where Cleon would entertaine the Athenians with pleasaunt toyes and devises, and could feede the peoples humor that way: Nicias finding him selfe no fit man to worke by such encounter, crept into the peoples favor with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with such like sumptuousnes, exceeding in cost and pleasaunt sportes, not only all those that had bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his consecrating unto the goddes: as the image of Pallas in the castell of Athens, the gilt being worne of: and the chappell which is under the festivall table of Bacchus: for he many times had the chiefe prise in Bacchus daunses, and never went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a reporte that at certaine playes whereof Nicias defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth apon the players stage before the people, apparelled like Bacchus: and being a goodly tall young man, without any heare on his face, the Athenians tooke such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for joy. Therewithall Nicias stoode up, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leave the body of a man in bondage, that openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon foorthwith made this young slave a free man. Men wryte also of certaine sumptuous and devout acts he did in the Ile of Delos, where the daunsers and singers which the cities of Græce sent thither to singe rimes and verses in the honor of Apollo, were wont before to arrive disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them singe straight without any order, and landing in hast out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heades, all at one present time. But Nicias, being commaunded to go thither to present the singers of Athens, landed first in the Ile of Renia, hard adjoyning to the Ile of Delos, with his singers, his beastes for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused

Nicias liberality and magnificence.

Digitized by Google

to be made at Athens, upon measure taken of the channell, betwext the one and thother Ile set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapistry: which in the night he set up upon the channell, being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe over apon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, even unto the very temple of Apollo. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gave a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered up to Apollo, bought landes besides that cost him tenne thowsande Drachmas, which he consecrated also unto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profittes of the same should be yearely bestowed by the Delians, apon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of Nicias: and so caused it to be wrytten and graven apon a piller he left in Delos, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offring, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell apon the great image of the Naxians gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a marvelous pompe, and great shew of popular ambition: neverthelesse, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easely perswade him selfe that above all he did it of very pure zeale and devotion, and secondly, to geve pleasure and pastime to the people. For by Thucydides reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly geven to religion. We finde wrytten in one of the dialogues of Pasiphoon, that Nicias did sacrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, geving out abroade, that it was to counsayle with him what should happen about the affayers of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquier of his owne busines, and specially of his mynes of silver. For he had many great mynes about Laurion side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driven continually to kepe a marvelous number of slaves at worke there. The most

Nicias superstitious.

Nicias mynes of silver.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

parte of Nicias riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many cravers and hangers on him, whome he gave money unto: for he gave as well unto wicked people that might doe mischiefe, as unto them that deserved reward, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a revenue to the good: and hereof the comicall Poets doe deliver us auncient testimony. For Teleclides speaking of a certaine informer sayth thus:

Nicias for feare gave to the wicked.

Charicles did refuse to geve one Mina for to stay,
The bruting of his secret birth, conveyed close away:
But Nice, the sonne of Nicerate, did willingly bestow,
A brace of Minaze doble told. And though I well doe know
The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:
For why? The man is my good frend, and wise I dare well say.

And he, whom Eupolis mocketh in his comedy intituled *Maricas*, bringing a plaine simple man apon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer.

How long is it a goe since thou didst speake with Nicias?

The plaine man.

I saw him standing even right now upon the market place.

The informer.

This man affirms he saw him there. And wherefore should he say
He saw him, but of some intent his lewdnes to bewray?
Now sirs ye see how Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his walking close in clowdes to geve the privy slip.

The Author.

O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he,
In any fault or shamefull fact will tardy taken be?

And Cleon threatning in the comedie of Aristophanes, intituled *The Knightes*, sayth these wordes:

The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias streit will quake.

Phrynichus selfe also telleth us glaunsingly, that he was

Digitized by Google

so timorous and easie to be frayed, when he sayd speaking of an other man: NICIAS

> A good stowt man (I know full well) he was,
> And not a coward like to Nicias.

Now Nicias being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to geve any litle occasion to the Orators to accuse him: kept him selfe so warely, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put foorth him selfe in companie to talke, or passe the time amongest them, but altogether avoyded such sportes and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would never out of the counsayle house, but still busied him selfe in dispatching causes, from morning till night, and was ever the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hande, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no accesse unto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his frendes did ever aunswere them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, saying, that he was busie then about affayers of the common wealth. One Hieron, whom Nicias had brought up in his house, and had him selfe taught him both learning and musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnes and gravety. This Hieron (as it is reported) was the sonne of Dionysius Chalcus, of whom they finde certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were sent to dwell in Italie, did build there the citie of Thuries. Hieron I say did serve his turne, and holpe him secretly to inquier what he would understande of the Soothsayers, and gave out these wordes among the people: that Nicias led too miserable and painefull a life, for the overgreat care he tooke to serve the common wealth: insomuch, as though he were in his hotte house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne still of some matters about the common wealth, and to serve the state, did neglect his owne private affayers: so that he scant beganne to sleepe and take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sleepe, and that he looked like no body.

Nicias warenes to offende.

Nicias Hierons schoolemaster.

Dionysius Chalcus founder of the city of Thuries.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

Furthermore, that he was growen crabbed and uncurteous, even to such as before had bene his familiar frendes. So that, sayd he, he loseth them together with his goodes, and all for service of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win frendes, by the credit they have to be heard of the people, and can make mery among them, and sporte with the matters of state which they have in their handes. Now in troth, such was Nicias life, that he might truely say that which Agamemnon spake of him selfe in the tragedie of Euripides, called *Iphigenie in Aulide*:

Nicias life.

> In outward show of stately pompe all others I exceede,
> And yet the peoples underling I am in very deede.

And Nicias perceiving that the people in some thinges did serve their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their corage, by taking their authority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, and the mistrust they had of Antiphon Rhamnusian, and moreover by that they did unto Paches (that tooke the Ile of Lesbos) who being brought before the judges in open counsell to geve up an accompt of his charge, drewe out his sword, and slue him selfe in presence of them all. Nicias I saye, remembring these examples, sought ever to flie from these offices, which were either too great, or too smal, and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily conjecture, prospered marvelous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisedom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune ever for all, and praying diligently to the goddes, contented him selfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to avoyde envy. As the event of thinges falling out even in his time doe sufficiently witnes unto us. For the citie of Athens having susteined many great losses and overthrowes, he was never a party, nor had ought to doe in any of them. As once for example: the Athenians were overcome in Thracia by the Chalcidonians,

Digitized by Google

howebeit it was under the leading of Calliades and Xenophon, who were their Captaines. An other time, the losse they had in Ætolia under the charge of Demosthenes. Moreover at Delium, a city of Bœotia, where they lost a thowsande men at one conflict, Hippocrates then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest number layed the fault thereof to Pericles, who by reason of warres kept the men that came out of the contry, within the walles of the citie of Athens: and so by chaunging of ayer, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was Nicias ever burdened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of Cythera, which the Lacedæmonians inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the contrie of Laconia. He wanne divers cities againe that had rebelled in Thracia, and brought them once more under the obedience of Athens. At his first comming, having shut in the Megarians within their walles, he tooke the Ile of Minoa: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the haven of Nisea also. Furthermore, landing in the contry of the Corinthians, he overcame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others Lycophron the Captaine. At this battell he chaunsed to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering up of the rest: howbeit so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleete to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leave to fetche away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes they that sent to aske leave to take away their deade to bury them, did thereby lose the honor of their victory, and were barred to set up any marke or token of triumphe, bicause it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the peticioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to have made demaunde of them: Nicias notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his victory, then to leave the bodies of two of his contrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of Laconia, and had overcomen certaine Lacedæmonians that

Notable actes done by Nicias.

The lawe of armes.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

came against him in battell: he tooke the city of Thyrea, which the Æginetes kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners unto Athens. And when the Peloponnesians had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the forte of Pyle, the which Demosthenes the Captaine had fortified: battell being geven by sea, it chaunsed there remained foure hundred naturall citizens of Sparta, within the Ile of Spacteria. Now the Athenians thought it a noble exployte of them, (as in deede it was) to take those foure hundred alive: howbeit the siege was very sore, bicause they lacked water even in the middest of sommer, and were forced to fetch a marvelous compasse to bring vittells to their campe, which when winter should be once commen would be very daungerous, and almost an impossible thing to doe. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through Cleons procurement) suffred them to departe in that sorte without resolucion taken: who was against them altogether, only to do Nicias a despite, being his enemy, and did earnestly solicite the matter the Lacedæmonians requested. This was the cause why Cleon perswaded the Athenians, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drewe out in length, and that their campe suffered grievous wantes and necessities: then fell they out with Cleon, and he againe burdened Nicias, saying that through his feare he would let the besieged Spartans escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not have holden out so long. Thereupon the Athenians sayd a lowde to Cleon: And why doest not thou goe thither yet to take them? Moreover Nicias selfe also rising up, openly gave him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leavy as many souldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to bragge with such impudent wordes where was no daunger, but to doe some notable service to the common wealth. Cleon at the first shronke backe, being amased withall, litle thinking they would have taken him so sodainly at his word. But in the ende, perceiving the people urged him to it, and that Nicias also was impor-

Digitized by Google

tunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge apon him, but in a bravery sayd, that within twenty dayes after his departure he would either put all the Spartans to the sword, or bring them prisoners unto Athens. The Athenians hearing Cleon say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to beleve that he spake: for it was their maner ever to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solemnly assembled in counsell earely in the morning, to heare what Cleon would say, and having taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the assemblie to dismisse the courte till the next morning: for, quod he, I shall not be at leasure to day, bicause I have sacrificed, and doe feast also certaine straungers my frendes that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing, and brake up thassembly. This notwithstanding, fortune favored him at that time, and he handled him selfe so well in this charge with Demosthenes, that he tooke all the Spartans that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, saving such as were slaine: and having made them yeelde, brought them prisoners to Athens. This fell out greatly to Nicias shame and reproache. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shielde, but worse then that, a voluntary forsaking of his province apon a base timerous minde, geving his enemy occasion thereby to doe some noble exployt, depriving him selfe of his honorable charge. Wherefore Aristophanes mocketh him againe, in his comedy of *Birdes*, saying:

A jeast of Cleon.

Cleons victory of the Lacedæmonians.

> It is no time to slepe and linger still,
> As Nicias doth: without good cause or skill.

Also in an other place of his comedy of *Plowmen* he sayth:

> I faine would follow husbandry. Who lets thee? Mary you.
> A thowsand Dragmaze I will geve to be discharged now
> Of office in the common weale. Content, so shall we have
> Two thowsand Dragmaze just, with those that Nicias lately gave.

But herein Nicias did great hurt to the common wealth,

Digitized by Google

The immoderate liberty of Cleon.

suffering Cleon in that sorte to grow to credit and estimacion. For after that victory, Cleon grew to so hautie a minde and pride of him selfe, that he was not to be delt withall: wherupon fel out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the city of Athens, which most grieved Nicias of all other. For Cleon amongst other thinges tooke away the modesty and reverence used before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, and floong up and downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwardes followed all licentiousnes, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators and counsellors fell into, that delt in matters of state and common wealth, and was in the end the overthrow of all together. In that very time began Alcibiades to grow to credit, by practise in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply evill: but as they say of the lande of Egypt, that for the fatnes and lustines of the soyle,

Cleons lewd and light jeastures in his Orations.

It bringeth forth both holsome herbes, and also noysome weedes.

Alcibiades divers wit.

Even so Alcibiades wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great chaunge and alteracion. For, it fell out, that after Nicias was ridde of Cleon, he could not yet bring the citie of Athens againe to peace and quietnes. For when the common wealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through Alcibiades extreame fury of ambition. And thus it beganne. The only peacebreakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout Græce, were these two persones, Cleon and Brasidas: for warre cloked the wickednes of the one, and advaunced the valiantnes of the other, geving to either occasion to doe great mischiefe, and also oportunity to worke many noble exploytes. Now Cleon and Brasidas being both slaine together at a battell fought by Amphipolis, Nicias straight perceiving the Spartans had long desired peace, and that the Athenians were no more so hottely geven to the warres, but that both the one and the other had their handes full, and were willing to be quiet: devised what meanes he might use to bring Sparta

Cleon and Brasidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Græce.

Digitized by Google

and Athens to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of Græce also from broyle and misery of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enjoy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking privately also with divers others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the Spartans in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they sought it: the Spartans beleved him, not onely for that they had founde him at other times very soft and curteous, but also bicause he was carefull to see that their prisoners of Sparta, (who had bene taken at the forte of Pyle) were gently intreated, and had made their miserable captivity more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betwene the Spartans and the Athenians for a yeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to taste the sweetenes and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free accesse one to see an others frendes that were straungers: began then to wishe that they might still continue in peace and amity together, without effusion of blood of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them singe such songes:

Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenians.

And let my speare lye overgrowen, with dusty spyders webbes.

They did also with great joy and gladnes remember him which sayd, that in peace no sound of trompet, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be a sleepe: and on the other side they cursed and tooke on with them that sayd it was predestined, the warre should continue thrise nine yeares. And so, upon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an universall peace throughout all Græce. Now most men thought that surely all their sorrowes and miseries were come to an ende, and there was no talke of any man but of Nicias, saying: that he was a man beloved of the goddes, who for his devotion towardes them, had this speciall gift geven him, that the greatest blessing that could come unto the world, was called after his name. For to confesse a troth, every man was certainly perswaded that this peace was Nicias worke, as the warre

Digitized by Google

NICIAS was Pericles procurement, who upon light causes perswaded the Græcians to runne headlong into most grievous calamities: and Nicias on the other side had brought them to become frends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had received of the other in former warres. And even to this present day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would say, Nicias peace. The capitulacions of the peace were thus agreed upon: that of either side they should alike deliver up the cities, and landes, which eche had taken from other in time of warres, together with the prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to beginne. Nicias (according to Theophrastus reporte) for ready money secretly bought the lot, that the Lacedæmonians might be the first that should make restitution. And when the Corinthians and Bœotians that disliked of this peace, sought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe: Nicias then perswaded both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, that they should adde for strength unto their contry, the allyance and peace offensive and defensive made betwene them, for a more sure knot of frendshippe, wherby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dredfull to their enemies that should rebell against them. These thinges went cleane against Alcibiades minde: who besides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy also unto the Lacedæmonians, for that they sought to Nicias, and made none accompt of him, but despised him. Here was thoccasion that caused Alcibiades to prove from the beginning what he could doe to hinder this peace, wherein he prevailed nothing. Yet shortly after, Alcibiades perceiving that the Athenians liked not so well of the Lacedæmonians, as they did before, and that they thought themselves injuried by them, bicause they had lately made league with the Bœotians without their privity, and had not wholly rendred up the cities of Panactum and Amphipolis according to the condicions articled betwene them: began then to enlarge and aggravate the peoples complaintes, and to make them offended with every one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambassadors from the city of Argos to come to Athens, and so handled the matter, that the Athenians

Nicias peace.

Digitized by Google

made league offensive and defensive with them. While these matters were thus in hand, there came to Athens also Ambassadors from Lacedæmon, with full power and authority to set all thinges at stay, and to compound all controversies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounded things unto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being affrayed that they letting the people understand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they desired: he finely deceived the poore Ambassadors by this devise. He promised apon his othe to helpe them in that they went about, so farre foorth as they would not confesse them selves to have absolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleve it was the only way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors geving credit to his wordes, relied apon him, and so forsooke Nicias. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the people being set in counsell, and there demaunded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a lowde voyce, that they had not. Thereupon Alcibiades, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise made unto them: beganne to call the counsell to witnes, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so advised the people not to trust nor geve credit unto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lye, and that in one selfe matter would one while say one thing, an other while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amased to heare Alcibiades wordes: for Nicias him selfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddennes of the cause did so confuse and grieve him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowe the people they were so moved besides, that they became indifferent whether to have sent for the Ambassadors of Argos presently to have made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake apon this matter, that greatly served Nicias turne, and brake up the assemblie. The people meeting againe in counsell the next morning, Nicias with all that he could doe, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the Argives: and to get leave in the meane time to go to the

Ambassadors sent from Sparta to Athens.

Alcibiades craft and deceit.

Alcibiades perjured.

The earthquake holpe Nicias.

Digitized by Google

Nicias sent Ambassador unto Sparta.

Lacedæmonians, promising he would make all well againe. Thereupon, Nicias going to Sparta, was received and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, and being overcomen by those that favored the Bœotians, returned againe to Athens as he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in daunger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request and counsell had redelivered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For in deede, the prisoners which Cleon had brought to Athens from the forte of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of Sparta, and their kinsemen and frends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, saving that they chose Alcibiades their Captaine, and made league with the Elians, and Mantinians (which had revolted from the Lacedæmonians) and with the Argives also: and sent pyrates to the forte of Pyle, to spoyle the contry of Laconia. Upon these occasions the Athenians fell againe into warres. Now when the quarrell and controversie was greatest betwene Nicias and Alcibiades,

The use of the Ostracismon.

the Ostracismon (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for tenne yeares any such of their citizens as they thought either of too great authority, or that was most envied for his wealth and substaunce. Alcibiades and Nicias were then not a litle perplexed, considering their present daunger, being sure that thone of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated Alcibiades life, and were afrayed of his valliantnes: as we have more amply declared in the description of his life. And for Nicias, his wealth made him to be envied, besides they misliked his straunge maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conversant with the people than he was, and compted him too stately: moreover they hated him also, bicause in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, and had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for them selves. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young

Digitized by Google

men that would have warres, and the olde men that coveted peace, some desirous to banish Nicias, and some others Alcibiades: but NICIAS

> Where discorde reignes in realme or towne,
> The wicked win the chiefe renowne.

And so fell it out then. For the Athenians being devided in two factions, gave authority to certaine of the most impudent and insolent persones that were in all the city: and among them was one Hyperbolus of the towne of Perithus, a man of no havior nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonoring his contry, by the honor they gave him. Now Hyperbolus thinking him selfe free at that time from any daunger of banishment, (having rather deserved the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly, that he was glad of their discorde and variance, and busily stirred up the people against them both. Nicias and Alcibiades being acquainted with his wicked practices, having secretly talked together, joyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them were banished, but Hyperbolus selfe for tenne yeres. Which matter for the present time made the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieved them much, seeing their ordinaunce of the Ostracismon blemished by the unworthines of the person: which punishment was an honor unto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for Thucydides, Aristides, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for Hyperbolus, it was thought too great an honor, and too manifest an occasion of glory to be geven to him, that for his wickednes had the selfe same punishment, which was to be inflicted upon the chiefest estates for their greatnes. And the comicall Poet Plato him selfe sayth in a place:

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and Alcibiades joyned tribes against Hyperbolus.

Hyperbolus banished for tenne yeares.

> Although his lewd behavior did deserve as much or more,
> Yet was not that the punishment he should have had therefore.
> The Ostracie devised was for men of noble fame,
> And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserved open shame.

After this Hyperbolus, there was never man banished with

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

The taking away of tenne yeres banishment.

the Ostracismon. For himself was the last, as Hipparchus Cholargian, and nearest kinseman to the tyranne, was the first. Sure fortune is a very uncerten thing, and without conceit of reason. For had Nicias franckely put him selfe to the hasard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needes have happened him: either to have remained in the city with victory, his adversary being banished: or being convict by his banishment to have scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the fame he had wonne of a wise Captaine, though he had bene overcomen. I know notwithstanding that Theophrastus wryteth, how Hyperbolus not Nicias, was banished through the dissention that fell betwext Phæax and Alcibiades: albeit most wryters agree with that I have told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the Egestans and Leontines being comen to Athens, to perswade the Athenians to attempt the conquest of Sicilia: Nicias being against it, was overcome by Alcibiades craft and ambition. For he, before they were called to counsell, had already through false surmises filled the peoples heades with a vaine hope and perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, and the old men also in artificers shoppes, and in their compassed chayers, or halfe circles where they sate talking together, were every one occupied about drawing the platforme of Sicile, telling the nature of the Sicilian sea, and reckoning up the havens and places looking towards Africke. For they made not their accompt that Sicile should be the end of their warres, but rather the storehouse and armorie for all their munition and martiall provision to make warre against the Carthaginians, and to conquer all Africke, and consequently all the Africke seas, even to Hercules pillers. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when Nicias spake against it, he founde very fewe men of quality to stand by him. For the riche, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to avoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though in dede not contented withall: yet would not Nicias leave still to counsell them to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in counsell

Digitized by Google

for the enterprise of Sicile, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with Alcibiades and Lamachus, to follow the same: at the next session of the counsell holden in the citie, Nicias rose up againe, to see if he could turne the people from this jorney with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening Alcibiades, that for his owne ambition and private commodity, he brought the common wealth into so farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes prevailed not. Him selfe before all others was thought the meetest man for this charge, partely bicause of his experience, but chiefely for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater safety, when his timerous foresight should be joyned with Alcibiades valiantnes, and with Lamachus softnes, which in deede most confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, Demostratus one of the Orators that most procured the Athenians to undertake this enterprise stepped foorth, and sayd: It were good that Nicias left of, and set a side all these excuses and devises, and preferred a decree, that the people shoulde thorowely authorise the Captaines that were chosen, to set forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so perswaded the people to passe and authorise it. Yet it is sayd that the Priestes objected many thinges to hinder the jorney. But Alcibiades also having suborned certaine soothsayers, alleaged in like case some auncient Oracles that sayd, the Athenians should have great honor from Sicile: and further had intised certaine pilgrimes, who sayd they were but newly come from the Oracle of Iupiter Ammon, and had brought this Oracle thence, 'That the Athenians should take 'all the Syracusans.' But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come, they held their peace, least it should seeme they entermeddled to prognosticate evill for affections sake, seeing that the signes them selves, which were most plaine and notorious, could not remove them from thenterprise of this jorney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of Mercurye, which in one night were all to be mangled, saving one image only called the Hermes of Andocides, which was geven and consecrated in old time by the tribe of the Ægeides, and was set up directly

Nicias chosen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.

Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterprise of Sicile.

Statues mangled at Athens.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

over against a citizens house called Andocides. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelve goddes: where a man leaping sodainly upon it, after he had gone round about it, cut of his genitories with a stone. And in a temple also in the city of Delphes, where was a litle image of Minerva of gold, set apon a palme tree of copper, which the citie of Athens had geven of the spoyles wonne of the Medes. Apon that palm tree sate certaine crowes many dayes together, and never left pecking and jobbing at the frute of it which was all of golde, untill they made the same to fall from the tree. But the Athenians sayd, that the Delphians (whom the Syracusans had subdued) had finely fained this devise. There was a prophecy also that commaunded them to bring one of Minervaes Nunnes to Athens, that was in the citie of Clazomenes. So they sent for this Nunne called Hesychia, which is, rest: and it seemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counsell them unto, that for that time they should be quiet. Meton the Astronomer having charge in the army leavied for the warre of Sicile, being afrayed of this prophecie, or otherwise misliking the celestiall signes, and successe of the jorney: fained him selfe mad, and set his house a fire. Others say he counterfeated not madnes, but did one night in deede set his house a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitiefull state, to sue to the people, that in consideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would discharge his sonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gallie at his owne cost, and ready to make sayle. Moreover, the familiar spirite of wise Socrates that did use to tell him before what should happen: told him then that this jorney would fall out to the destruction of Athens. Socrates told it to certaine of his very familiar frendes: and from them the rumor became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the unluckie dayes on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very dayes on the which the women celebrated the feast and yereday of Adonis death: and there were also in divers partes of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them,

The madnes of Meton the Astronomer.

Digitized by Google

mourning and lamenting. So that such as did put any confidence in those signes, sayd they misliked it much, and that they were afrayed least the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was set out with such pompe and bravery) would come to nothing. Now for Nicias, that he spake against this warre in open counsell, whilest they were deliberating apon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed up with the glory of so honorable a charge to make him chaunge his minde: therein surely he shewed him selfe an honest man, wise, and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remove the people from the enterprise of this warre, neither yet by sute nor intreaty get him selfe discharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they would in any case make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and still geving backe, turning his head so oft like a child to looke apon his gallie behinde him, and ever to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of this jorney. For in deede this was enough to discorage his companions, and to marre all at their first setting out: where, to say truly, he should sodainly have set apon his enemies, and have gone to it with a lusty corage, to have assayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary course. For when Lamachus thought good at their first comming to goe straight to Syracusa, and to geve them battell as neere the walles as might be, and that Alcibiades on the other side was of opinion first of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the Syracusans, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe against the Syracusans them selves. Nicias to the contrary spake in counsell, and thought it better to goe on fayer and softly, descrying the coastes of Sicile round about to view their gallies and preparation, and so to returne straight to Athens againe, leaving only a few of their men with the Egestans, to helpe to defende them. But this from the beginning marvelously cooled the corage of the souldiers, and quite discoraged them. Shortly after also, the Athenians having sent for Alcibiades to aunswere to certaine accusations, Nicias remaining Captaine with Lamachus (the

NICIAS

Nicias foolish fearefullnes.

Nicias counsell for invading the Syracusans.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

other Captaine in sight, but Nicias selfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) still used delayes, running up and downe, and spending time so long in consultation, till the souldiers were left without both hope and corage: and the feare thenemy had of them at their first comming to see so great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet Alcibiades being in the army, before he was sent for from Athens, they went with three score gallies to Syracusa, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the haven, and sent the other tenne into the haven to discover: which approaching neere the city, caused an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the Leontines to their landes and possessions, and tooke a shippe of the enemies, in the which among other thinges they founde tables, wherein were wrytten the names of all the inhabitants of Syracusa, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept farre from the citie, in the temple of Iupiter Olympian, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of service, and of age to beare weapon. The same tables being taken by the Athenians, and caried to the generalls of the army, the soothsayers seeing this long rolle of names, at the first misliked it, fearing least the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promised them, that the Athenians one day should take all the Syracusans. Howebeit it is reported this prophecy came to passe in an other exployte, when Callippus Athenian having slaine Dion, wan also the city of Syracusa. Now when Alcibiades was gone from the campe, Nicias bare all the sway and commaunded the whole army. For Lamachus, though otherwise he was a stowte man, an honest man, and very valliant of his handes, and one that would not spare him selfe in time of neede: neverthelesse he was so poore and miserable, that even when he was in state of a Generall, and gave up an accompt of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much, for a gowne, and so much for a payer of pantophles. Where Nicias authority and reputacion contrarywise was of an other maner of cut, as well for other respectes, as for his riches, and for the honor of many noble thinges which he had done before. As one

Lamachus valliant, but simple.

Digitized by Google

namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in counsell with his companions in the counsell house at Athens, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake unto Sophocles the Poet, then present amongest them, and bad him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. Sophocles aunswered him againe: In deede I confesse I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom every man regardeth best. So having at that time Lamachus under him, a better Captaine and man of warre then him selfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the army under his charge by deferring of time still, and hovering about Sicile as farre from his enemies as he could: he first gave the enemies time and leasure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to besiege Hybla, being but a pelting litle towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so great a contempt with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last, he retyred unto Catana with his army, without any other exployte done, saving that he tooke Hyccara, a baggadge village of the barbarous people, and where it is sayd Lais the courtisane was borne, and that being then a young gerle, she was sold among other prisoners, and afterwardes caried into Peloponnesus. And in fine, the sommer being farre spent, Nicias was informed that the Syracusans had taken such corage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge apon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the Athenians in mockery, if they were come into Sicile to dwell with the Catanians, or to restore the Leontines to their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, Nicias determined to goe to Syracusa, and bicause he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hasard: he sent one of Catana before to Syracusa, to tell them (as if he had bene a spye) that if they would sodainly come and set apon the campe of the Athenians and take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to Catana at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the Athenians (sayd he) for the most parte are within the city, wherein

Lais the courtisan caried out of Sicile into Peloponnesus.

Nicias notable stratageame.

Digitized by Google

there are certaine citizens, which favoring the Syracusans, have determined so soone as they heare of their comming, to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the Athenians shippes a fire: and how there were also a great number in the citie of this confederacy, that did but looke every hower for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageame of warre, that Nicias shewed all the time he was in Sicile. For by this devise he made the Syracusans come into the fielde with all their power, so that they left their citie without garde: and he him selfe departing in the meane time from Catana with all his fleete, wanne the haven of Syracusa at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set apon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The Syracusans returning straight from Catana, and offering him battell hard by the walles of Syracusa, he came out into the field, and overthrew them. There were not many of the Syracusans slaine at this battell, bicause their horsemen did hinder the chase: but Nicias breaking up the bridges apon the river, gave Hermocrates occasion to mocke him. For, comforting and encoraging the Syracusans, he told them Nicias deserved to be laughed at, bicause he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from Athens to Syracusa to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the Syracusans quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they would suffer them to have full power and authority to commaund and take order for all thinges. The temple of Iupiter Olympian was hard by the Athenians campe, which they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of rich juells and offeringes of gold and silver, geven unto the temple afore time. But Nicias of purpose still drave of time, and delayed so long, till the Syracusans at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with him selfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoyle the temple, his contry should be nothing the richer by it, and him selfe besides should beare all the blame of sacrilege. So, having obteined victorie without

Nicias winneth the haven of Syracusa.

Nicias forbeareth to spoyle the temple of Iupiter.

Digitized by Google

profit, (which ranne straight through Sicile) within few dayes after he returned unto the city of Naxos, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of vittells with so great an army, for the doing of thinges of small moment, upon certaine Sicilians that yelded to him. The Syracusans in the meane time being in hart againe, and coragious: returned to Catana, where they spoyled and overranne all the contrie, and burnt the campe of the Athenians. Herefore every man blamed Nicias much, bicause through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all thinges sure, he let slippe sundry occasions of notable exploytes, wherein good service might have bene done. Yet when he would do a thing in deede, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception to his doinges, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hande, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slowe to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when he removed his army to returne to Syracusa, he brought it so orderly, and also with such speede and safety: that he was come by sea to Thapsus, had landed and taken the forte of Epipolis, before the Syracusans had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choyce men of the Syracusans being set out against him, hoping to have stopped his passage: he overthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners and made their horsemen flie, which before were thought invincible. But that which made the Syracusans most afrayed, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other Græcians, was this: that in a very short space he had almost environned Syracusa with a walle, which was as much in compasse about, as the walls of Athens, and worsse to performe, by reason of the woddy contry, and for the sea also that beateth apon the walles, besides that there were divers marrisses hard by it: and yet (sicke as he was of the stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, unto his sickenesse. For mine owne parte I wonder marvelously both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiantnes and dexterity of the souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feates they did. For Euripides

Nicias besiegeth Syracusa.

Nicias wall at the siege of Syracusa.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS after their overthrowe and utter ruine, made a funerall Epitaphe in verse, and sayth thus:

> Eight times our men did put the men of Syracusa to flight,
> So long as with indifferencie the goddes did use their might.

But we finde it wrytten, that the Syracusans were not only eight times, but many times more overthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and fortune fought against them, even when the Athenians were of greatest power. Now Nicias in his owne person was ever in the greatest and most weighty affayers, striving with his sickely body. Howbeit one day when his disease grew sore apon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: and Lamachus in the meane time alone having charge of the whole army, fought with the Syracusans, who then had brought a walle from the city, unto the wall with the which the Athenians had purposed to have shutte them in, to keepe that they shoulde not compasse it rounde. And bicause the Athenians commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times over rashely followed the chase of their enemies that fled. As it chaunsed one day that Lamachus went so farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the city, before whom Callicrates marched formest, a valliant man of his handes, who challenged Lamachus hand to hand. Lamachus abode him, and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gave Callicrates also such a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. At that time the Syracusans being the stronger side, tooke up his body, and caried it away with them: but they spurred cut for life to the Athenians campe, where Nicias lay sicke, without any gard or succor at all: nevertheless, Nicias rose with speede out of his bed, and perceivinge the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his frendes to set the wodde a fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine devises for battery, and the engines of timber also that were already made. That devise onely stayed the Syracusans, saved Nicias, and the strength of their campe, together with all the silver and cariage of the Athenians. For the Syracusans perceiving a

The death of Lamachus.

Digitized by Google

farre of, betwext them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as rose up in the ayer: apon sight of it turned taile straight, and made towardes their city. Thinges falling out thus, Nicias being left sole Captaine of the army without any companion, in great hope notwithstanding to do some good: divers cities of Sicile yelded unto him, shippes fraught with corne came out of every quarter to his campe, and many submitted them selves, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the Syracusans also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defende their city any lenger against him. Gylippus also a Captaine of the Lacedæmonians, comming to aide the Syracusans, understanding by the way howe the city of Syracusa was shut in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: helde on his voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend Sicile (supposing the Athenians had wonne the whole contry) but with intent neverthelesse to helpe the cities of Italie if he could possibly. For it was a common rumor abroade, that the Athenians had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wisedome and good fortune was invincible. Nicias him selfe now contrary to his wonted wisedom and foresight, trusting altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, but specially beleving the reportes that were told him of Syracusa, and the newes that were brought him thence by some of them selves, which came secretly unto him, perswading him selfe that within few dayes he should have Syracusa by composition: tooke no care to withstand Gylippus comminge hether, neither sent any men to kepe him from landinge in Sicile. By which negligence, Gylippus landed in a passenger, without Nicias knowledge: so small reckoning they made of him, and so much did they fondly despise him. Gylippus being thus landed farre from Syracusa, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the Syracusans them selves knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: insomuch as they had alreadie appointed the assemblie of a counsell to determine the articles and capitulacions of peace, which they should conclude upon with Nicias. Moreover, there were some that perswaded they should doe well to make hast to conclude the peace,

Nicias sole Captaine of the whole army.

Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, aideth the Syracusans.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

before the inclosure of Nicias walle was altogether finished, which then lacked not much to performe, havinge all the stuffe for the purpose brought even ready to the place. But as these thinges were even thus a doing, arrived one Gongylus at Syracusa, that came from Corinthe with a gally. At whose landing, the people apon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he tolde them that Gylippus would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aide. The Syracusans would hardly beleve him, untill there came another messanger also sent from Gylippus selfe of purpose, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the fielde. Thereupon the Syracusans being marvelously revived, went all straight and armed them selves. And Gylippus was no sooner come into Syracusa, but he presently put his men in battell ray, to set apon the Athenians. Nicias for his parte had likewise also set the Athenians in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both tharmies were now approached neere eche to other, Gylippus threw downe his weapons, and sent a Herauldе unto Nicias to promise them life and bagage to departe safely out of Sicile. But Nicias would make the Herauld none aunswere to that message. Howbeit there were certaine of his souldiers that in mockerie asked the Heraulde, if for the comming of a poore cape and wande of Lacedæmon, the Syracusans thought them selves strengthened so much, that they should despise the Athenians, which not long before kept three hundred Lacedæmonians prisoners in irons, farre stronger and more heare on their heades, then Gylippus had, and had also sent them home to their citizens at Lacedæmon. And Timæus wryteth also, that the Sicilians them selves, made no reckoning of Gylippus, neither then, nor at any time after. After, bicause they sawe his extreame covetousnesse and miserie: and then, for that he came so meanely apparrelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long bush of heare, which made them scorne him. Yet in an other place he sayth, that so soone as Gylippus arrived in Sicile, many came to him out of every quarter with very good will, like birdes wondering at an owle. This second reporte seemeth truer then the first: for they swarmed about him, bicause in

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arrivall at Syracusa.

Digitized by Google

this cape and wand they saw the tokens and the majesty of the city and seigniory of Sparta. Thucydides also saith, that it was Gylippus only that did all there. And much like doth Philistus selfe a Syracusan confesse, who was present then in prison and saw all thinges that were done. Notwithstanding, at the first battel the Athenians had the upper hand, and slue a number of the Syracusans, among the which Gongylus the Corinthian was one. But the morning following, Gylippus made them know the skill and experience of a wise Captaine. For, with the selfe same weapons, with the same men, with the same horses, and in the same places, chaunging only the order of his battell, he overthrew the Athenians: and (fighting with them still) having driven them even into their campe, he set the Syracusans a worke to build up a walle overthwarte, (with the very selfe same stones and stuffe which the Athenians had brought and layed there for the finishing of their inclosure) to cut of the other, and to kepe it from going forward, that it joyned not together. So, all that the Athenians had done before untill that present, was utterly to no purpose. Things standing in these tearmes, the Syracusans being coragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running up and downe the fieldes with their horsemen and slaves, tooke many prisoners. Gylippus on thother side, went in persone to and fro through the cities of Sicile, perswading and exhortinge the inhabitantes in such sorte, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. Nicias seeing thinges thus falle out, fell to his olde trade againe, and consideringe the chaunge of his state and former good lucke, his hart beginning to fainte: wrote straight to the Athenians to send an other army into Sicile, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any case to geve him leave to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sickenes. The Athenians were indifferent before he wrote, to send aide thither: howbeit the envy the nobility bare unto Nicias good fortune, did ever cause some delay that they sent not, until than, and then they determined to send with spede. So Demosthenes was named to be sent away immediatly after winter, with a great navy. In the middest of winter, Eurymedon went to Nicias,

Gongylus the Corinthian slaine.

Nicias good fortune chaunged.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

Euthydemus and Menander chosen Captaines with Nicias.

and caried him both money, and newes, that the people had chosen some of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in service with him, to wit, Euthydemus, and Menander. Now Nicias in the meane time being sodainly assailed by his enemies, both by sea and lande: though at the first he had fewer gallies in number than they, yet he budged divers of theirs and suncke them. But by lande againe, he could not aide his men in time, bicause Gylippus at the first onset had taken a forte of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the store and tackell for many gallies, and a great masse of ready money which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same conflict also were many men slaine, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that therby he tooke from Nicias the great commodity he had to bringe his vittells safely by sea to his campe. For while the Athenians kept this forte, they might at their pleasure bring vittels without daunger to their campe, being covered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, bicause they were ever driven to fight with the enemies, that lay at ancker before the forte. Furthermore the Syracusans did not thinke that their armie by sea was overthrowen, bicause their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the Athenians disorderedly: and therfore were desirous once againe to venter, in better sorte and order than before. But Nicias by no meanes would be brought to fight again, saying, that it were a madnes, looking for such a great navy and a new supply as Demosthenes was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of shippes than they, and but poorely furnished. But contrarily, Menander, and Euthydemus, newly promoted to the state of Captaines with Nicias, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (Nicias, and Demosthenes that was then comming) desired to prevent Demosthenes, in performing some notable service before his arrivall, and thereby also to excell Nicias doinges. Howbeit, the cloke they had to cover their ambition withall was, the honor and reputacion of the city of Athens, the which (sayd they) were shamed and dishonored for ever, if they now should shew themselves

Digitized by Google

afraied of the Syracusans, who provoked them to fight. Thus brought they Nicias against his will to battell, in the which the Athenians were slaine and overcome, by the good counsell of a Corinthian Pilot called Ariston. For the left wing of their battell (as Thucydides wryteth) was clearely overthrowen, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon Nicias was wonderfully perplexed, considering on the one side that he had taken marvelous paines, whilest he was sole Captaine of the whole army: and on thother side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had geven him companions. But as Nicias was in this great dispaire, they descried Demosthenes apon a pere of the haven, with his fleete bravely set out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. For he had three score and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought five thowsande footemen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slinges about three thowsand, and the gallies trimmed and set foorth with goodly armors, numbers of ensignes, and with a world of trompets, howboyes, and such marine musicke, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the Syracusans them selves againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiving they strove against the streame, and consumed them selves to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelyhoode to be delivered from their troubles. And Nicias also rejoyced, that so great aide was come, but his joy helde not longe. For so soone as he began to talke with Demosthenes of the state of thinges, he found him bent forthwith to set apon the Syracusans, and to hasard all with spede, that they might quickely take Syracusa, and so dispatche away home againe. Nicias thought this more hast then good speede, and feared much this foolehardines. Wherupon he prayed him to attempt nothing rashely, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of vittells: that they would then quickely seeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For there were many within Syracusa

NICIAS

Demosthenes arrivall at Syracusa.

Demosthenes rashnes.

Nicias counsell unto Demosthenes.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

that were Nicias frendes, who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of warre, and waxed angry also with Gylippus. So that if they were but straighted a litle more with want of vittells, they would yeelde straight. Nicias delivering these perswasions somwhat darkely, and keping somwhat also from utteraunce, bicause he would not speake them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlines, and that he returned againe to his former delayes to keepe all in security, by which manner of proceedinge he had from the beginning killed the hartes of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming set apon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the corage of his souldiers was colde and done, and him selfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) Euthydemus and Menander, stucke to Demosthenes opinion: wherunto Nicias was also forced against his will to yeeld. So Demosthenes the selfe same night taking the footemen, went to assault the fort of Epipolis: where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he slue many of them, and made the rest flee that offered resistaunce. But not content with this victory, he went furder, till he fell apon the Bœotians. They gathering themselves together were the first that resisted the Athenians, basing their pikes with such furie and lowde cries, that they caused the former to retyre, and made all the rest of thassailantes afrayed and amased. For the formost flyinge backe, came full upon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, resisted them with all their force, and so mistaking one an other, both were wounded and slaine, and the hurt they ment unto their enemies, did unfortunately light upon their owne fellowes. For this multitude meetinge thus confusedly together, what through their great feare, and what for that they could not discerne one an other in the night, the which was neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleere, as they might certainly judge by sight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the small light it gave was diffused with the number of men

Demosthenes rashnes.

Digitized by Google

that ran to and fro) the feare they had of the enemy, made them mistrust their frendes. All these troubles and disadvantages had the Athenians, and beside, the moone on their backes, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and glistering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets, glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that shone upon them, encreased their feare, and making them seeme a greater number and better appointed than they were in deede. At last, thenemies geving a lusty charge uppon them on every side, after they once beganne to geve backe and turne taile: some were slaine by their enemies, others by their owne company, and others also brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The rest that were dispersed abroade in the fieldes, were the next morning every man of them put to the sworde by the horsemen. So, the account made, two thowsand Athenians were slaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore Nicias that alwayes mistrusted it would thus come to passe, was marvelously offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashnes. But he excusing him selfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes, and so to hoyse sayle homewardes. For, sayd he, we must looke for no new aide from Athens, neither are we strong enough with this armie to overcome our enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity avoide the place we are in, bicause (as it is reported) it is alwayes unholsome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the automne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly see by experience. For many of their people were already sicke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. Nicias in no case liked the motion of departing thence, bicause he feared not the Syracusans, but rather the Athenians, for their accusations and condemnation. And therefore in open counsell he told them, that as yet he saw no such daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather dye of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne contrymen. Being therin of a contrary minde to Leo Bizantine, who after that sayd to his citizens: I had

The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracusa.

The corage of Leo Bizantine.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

rather suffer death by you, than to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for removing their campe to some other place, they should have leasure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when Nicias had delivered this opinion in counsell, Demosthenes having had ill lucke at his first comming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that Nicias stucke not so hard against their departure, but that he relied apon the trust and confidence he had of some within the city: they all agreed to Nicias. But when newes came that there was a new supply come unto the Syracusans, and that they saw the plague encreased more and more in their campe: then Nicias selfe thought it best to departe thence, and gave notice to the souldiers to prepare them selves to shippe away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all thinges in readines for their departure, without any knowledge of thenemy, or suspicion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipse in the night, and sodainly to lose her light, to the great feare of Nicias and divers others, who through ignoraunce and supersticion quaked at such sightes. For, touching the eclipse and darkening of the sunne, which is ever at any conjunction of the moone, every common person then knew the cause to be the darkenes of the body of the moone betwixt the sunne and our sight. But the eclipse of the moone it selfe, to know what doth darken it in that sorte, and howe being at the full it doth sodainly lose her light, and chaunge into so many kinde of colours: that was above their knowledge, and therfore they thought it very straunge, perswading them selves that it was a signe of some great mischiefes the goddes did threaten unto men. For Anaxagoras, the first that ever determined and delivered any thing, for certaine and assured, concerning the light and darkenesse of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowen, but only to a few, who durst not talke of it but with feare even to them they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of natural Philosophy, and inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then Μετεωρολεσχης, as

The eclipse of the moone.

The eclipse of the moone not knowen of long time.

Anaxagoras the first that wrote of the eclipse of the moone.

Digitized by Google

much to say, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things above the reach of reason, done in heaven and in the ayer. Bicause the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the goddes only, unto certaine naturall and necessarie causes, that worke their effectes not by providence nor will, but by force, and necessary consequences. For these causes was Protagoras banished from Athens, and Anaxagoras put in prison: from whence Pericles had much a do to procure his delivery. And Socrates also, though he did not medle with that parte of Philosophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspicion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of Plato being received and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of naturall causes unto the controlement and disposition of divine power, as unto a more excellent and supreame cause: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of such disputations, and gave open passage and free entry unto the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore Dion, one of Platoes schollers and frendes, an eclipse of the moone chaunsing even at the very same time that he was weying up his anckers to sayle from Zacynthe, to make warre with the tyran Dionysius: being nothing afrayed nor troubled therewithall, made sayle notwithstanding, and when he came to Syracusa, drave out the tyran. But then it fell out unfortunatly for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to use for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called Stilbides, was dead not long before. For this signe of the eclipse of the moone (as Philochorus sayth) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very good: for sayd he, thinges that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy unto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to kepe them selves close above three dayes in such eclipses of the moone and sunne, as Autoclides selfe prescribeth in a booke he made of such matters: where Nicias bare them then in hande, that they should tary the whole and full revolution of the course of the moone, as though he had not seene her straight cleere againe, after she had once passed the shadow and darkenes of the earth. But all other thinges

The Athenians do persecute the Philosophers.

Socrates put to death for Philosophy.

Dyon very skilfull in naturall causes.

Nicias ignorant of naturall causes.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

layed a side and forgotten, Nicias disposed him selfe to sacrifice unto the gods: until such time as the enemies came againe as well to besiege their fortes, and all their campe by lande, as also to occupy the whole haven by sea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreover young boyes into fisher botes and other light barkes, with the which they came to the Athenians, and shamefully reviled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called Heraclides, whose bote being forwarder than his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallie of the Athenians, that rowed against him. Pollichus his uncle being afrayed of it, lanched forward with tenne gallies of Syracusa for his rescue, of the which him selfe was Captaine. The other gallies douting also least Pollichus should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne: so that there fell out a great battell by sea, which the Syracusans wanne, and slue Eurymedon the Captaine, and many other. This made the souldiers of the Athenians so afrayed, that they beganne to crie out, it was no lenger tarying there, and that there was none other way but to departe thence by land. For after the Syracusans had wonne that battell, they had straight shut up the haven mouth. Nicias could not consent to such a retyre. For, sayd he, it would be too great a shame for them to leave their gallies and other shippes to the enemy, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and tenne gallies with the best and valliantest of their footemen, and darters, that were in the army, bicause the other gallies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, Nicias forsaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of Hercules) did set them in battell ray apon the peere of the haven. Insomuch, that the Syracusans which untill that day could not performe their wonted sacrifices unto Hercules: did then sende their Priestes and Captaines thither to do them. The souldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Priestes and Soothsayers came and told the Syracusans, that undoutedly the signes of the sacrifices did promise them a noble victory, so that they gave no

The Syracusans overcome the Athenians by sea.

The soothsayers do promise victory to the Syracusans.

Digitized by Google

charge, but only stoode uppon their defence: for so did Hercules ever overcome, defending, when he was assailed. With this good hope the Syracusans rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruell battell by sea, as had not bene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that stoode on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall unto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the Athenians did as much hurte them selves by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranckes of their shippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with the heavy, against thenemies that were light and swift, which came on on every side of them, whurling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how ever they lighted: whereas the Athenians onely casting their dartes, and using their bowes and slinges, by meanes of their rowing up and downe could not lightly ame to hit with the head. That maner of fight, Aristo a Corinthian (an excellent shippe maister) had taught the Syracusans, who was him selfe slaine valliantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The Athenians therupon being driven to fight, having susteined marvelous slaughter and overthrow, (their way to flie by sea being also cleerely taken from them) and perceiving moreover that they could hardly save them selves by lande: were then so discoraged, as they made no lenger resistaunce, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leave to take up their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased and sore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these thinges, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their lives with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to departe thence in the night, Gylippus perceiving the Syracusans through all the citie disposed them selves to sacrifice to the goddes, and to be mery, as well for the joy of their victorie, as also for Hercules feast: thought it bootelesse to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them, to take

The Athenians againe overcome on the sea by the Syracusans.

Digitized by Google

armes uppon a sodaine, to set apon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit Hermocrates devising with him selfe how to deceive Nicias, sent some of his frendes unto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all thinges during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to departe that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the Syracusans had layed for him, having sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. Nicias being overreached by Hermocrates craft and subtilty, stayed there that night, as though he had bene afrayed to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambush. Therupon, the Syracusans the next morning by peepe of day, hoysed sayle, got the straights of Nicias passage, stopped the rivers mouthes, and brake up the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plaine fieldes adjoyning, so that the Athenians had no way left to escape, and passe by them, without fighting. At last notwithstanding, having stayed all that day and the next night following, they put them selves in jorney, and departed with great cryes and lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall contry, and not out of their enemies lande: as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needefull to susteine life) as also for thextreame sorowe they felt to leave their sore wounded companions and diseased kinsemen and frends behinde them, that could not for their weakenes followe the campe, but specially for that they looked for some woorse matter to fall to them selves, than that which they sawe present before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the most pitiefull sightes to beholde in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of Nicias selfe: who being tormented with his disease, and waxen very leane and pale, was also unworthely brought to extreame want of naturall sustenance, even when he had most neede of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weakenes and infirmity, he tooke great paines, and suffered many thinges, which the soundest bodies doe labor much to overcome and suffer: making it appeare evidently to every man,

Nicias deceived by Hermocrates.

The miserable state of the Athenians departing from Syracusa.

Nicias extreame misery.

Digitized by Google

that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, or desire that he had to save his owne life, so much as for their sakes in that he yeelded not unto present dispayre. For where the souldiers for very feare and sorrow burst out into teares and bitter wayling: Nicias selfe shewed, that if by chaunce he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather upon remembraunce of the shame and dishonor that came into his minde, to see the unfortunate successe of this voyage, in steade of the honor and victory they hoped to have brought home, than for any other respect. But if to see Nicias in this misery, did move the lookers on to pity: yet did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembred Nicias wordes in his orations continually to the people, to breake this jorney, and to disswade them from thenterprise of this warre. For then they plainly judged him not to have deserved these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the souldiers utterly to dispayre of helpe from the goddes, when they considered with them selves, that so devout and godly a man as Nicias (who left nothing undone that might tend to the honor and service of the goddes) had no better successe, than the most vile and wicked persones in all the whole army. All this notwithstandinge, Nicias strained him selfe in all that might be, both by his good countenaunce, his cheerefull words, and his kinde using of every man: to let them know that he fainted not under his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamity. And thus travelling eight dayes jorney outright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set apon, wearied, and hurt: yet he ever mainteined his bandes, and led them whole in company untill that Demosthenes, with all his bandes of souldiers was taken prisoner, in a certaine village called Polyzelios: where remaininge behinde, he was envirronned by his enemies in fight, and seeing him self so compassed in, drewe out his sword, and with his owne handes thrust him selfe thorow, but dyed not of it, bicause his enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of him. The Syracusans thereupon went with speede to Nicias, and told him of Demosthenes case. He geving no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen

Demosthenes taken of the Syracusans.

Digitized by Google

thither to understand the troth: who brought him worde that Demosthenes and all his men were taken prisoners. Then he besought Gylippus to treate of peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the Athenians to departe out of Sicile with safety, and to take such hostages for the sure payement of all such summes of money the Syracusans had disbursed by meanes of this warre, as should like him selfe: which he promised he would cause the Athenians to performe and satisfie unto them. Howbeit the Syracusans would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatning and reviling them that made mocion hereof, in rage gave a new onset upon him, more fiercely then ever before they had done. Nicias being then utterly without any kinde of vittells, did notwithstanding hold out that night, and marched all the next day following (though the enemies dartes still flew about their eares) untill he came to the river of Asinarus, into the which the Syracusans did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entred the river of them selves, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poore wretches, even as they were drinking: until such time as Nicias falling downe flat at Gylippus feete, sayd thus unto him: Sence the goddes have geven thee (Gylippus) victory, shewe mercy, not to me that by these miseries have won immortall honor and fame, but unto these poore vanquished Athenians: calling to thy remembraunce, that the fortunes of warre are common, and howe that the Athenians have used you Lacedæmonians curteously, as often as fortune favored them against you. Gylippus beholding Nicias, and perswaded by his wordes, tooke compassion of him, (for he knew he was a frend unto the Lacedæmonians at the last peace concluded betwext them, and furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could cary away the two Captaines or generalls of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gave him wordes of comforte, and moreover commaunded besides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: insomuch as there were many moe slaine than taken, although some private souldiers saved divers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the

Nicias moveth treaty of peace.

Nicias army overcome at the river of Asinarus.

Nicias wordes, yelding him selfe unto Gylippus.

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias.

Digitized by Google

Syracusans having brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first unarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hong them up apon the goodliest younge trees that stoode apon the rivers side in token of triumphe. And so putting on triumphing garlandes apon their heades, and having trimmed their owne horses in triumphant maner, and also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sorte they made their entry into the citie of Syracusa, having gloriously ended the most notable warre that ever was amongest the Greekes one against an other, and attained also the noblest victory that could be atchieved, and that only by force of armes and valliancy. So at their returne, a counsell and assembly was holden at Syracusa, by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, Eurycles one of the orators, (a practiser in publicke causes) first made peticion, that the day on the which they had taken Nicias, might for ever thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke or labor, but only to doe sacrifice to the goddes: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the river where the overthrow was geven. This victory was had the six and twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederats of the Athenians and their slaves should be openly solde by the dromme: and that the naturall Athenians which were free men, and their confederates of the contry of Sicile, should be clapped in irons, and layed in prison, the Captaines only excepted, whom they should put to death. The Syracusans confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine Hermocrates went about to perswade them that to be merciful in victory, would be more honor unto them, than the victory it selfe: they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made sute that for the Captaines of the Athenians, he might cary them alive with him to Sparta: he was not onely shamefully denyed, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growen apon this victory, beside also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, and could not endure his straight severe Laconian government. Timæus sayth moreover, that they accused him of covetousnes and

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with triumphe.

Asinarus feast.

The Captaines of the Athenians condemned to dye.

Gylippus, a covetous man.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS

Cleandrides condemned for extorcion.

theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For Cleandrides his father was convict for extorcion, and banished Athens. And Gylippus selfe having stolen thirty talentes out of a thowsande which Lysander sent to Sparta by him, and having hid them under the cusinges of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his contry, as we have more amply declared in the life of Lysander. So Timæus wryteth, that Nicias and Demosthenes were not stoned to death by the Syracusans, as Thucydides and Philistus reporte, but that they killed them selves, apon word sent them by Hermocrates (before the assemble of the people was broken up) by one of his men whom the kepers of the prison let in unto them: howebeit their bodies were cast out at the jaile dore, for every man to beholde. I have heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at Syracusa, which is sayd to be Nicias target, covered all over with golde and purple silke, passinge finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the Athenians, the most of them dyed of sickenes, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to live withall but two dishefulls of barley for their breade, and one of water for eche man a day. In deede many of them were conveyed away, and sold for slaves: and many also that scaped unknowen as slaves, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the printe of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble pacience and modesty did greatly profit them. For either shortly after they were made free men, or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloved of their masters. Some of them were saved also for Euripides sake. For the Sicilians liked the verses of this Poet better, than they did any other Græcians verses of the middest of Græce. For if they heard any rimes or songes like unto his, they would have them by hart, and one would present them to an other with great joy. And therfore it is reported, that divers escaping this bondage, and returning againe to Athens, went very lovingly to salute Euripides, and to thanke him for their lives: and told him how they were delivered from slavery, only by teaching them

Nicias and Demosthenes slue them selves.

Digitized by Google

those verses which they remembred of his workes. Others tolde him also, how that after the battel, they scaping by flight, and wandering up and downe the fieldes, met with some that gave them meate and drinke to sing his verses. And this is not to be marvelled at, weying the reporte made of a shippe of the city of Caunus, that on a time being chased in thether by pyrates, thinking to save them selves within their portes, could not at the first be received, but had repulse: howbeit being demaunded whether they could sing any of Euripides songes, and aunswering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable overthrow, was not beleved at the first, when they heard of it at Athens. For a straunger that landed in the haven of Piræa, went and sat him downe (as the maner is) in a barbers shoppe, and thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, beganne to talke of it. The barber hearing the straunger tell of such matter, before any other had heard of it: ranne into the city as fast as he could, and going to the governors tolde the newes openly before them all. The magistrates thereupon did presently call an assembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard these newes, could make no certaine reporte. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble: he was presently bound and layed on a wheele, wheron they use to put offenders to death, and so was there tormented a great time, untill at last there arrived certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told every thing how the overthrow came. So as in fine they found Nicias wordes true, which now they beleved, when they sawe all those miseries light fully apon them, which he long before had prognosticated unto them.

Eurypides verses saved many of the Athenians lives.

The Athenians doe torment the bringer of the newes of their overthrow.

Nicias foreshewed the miseries of the Athenians.

THE END OF NICIAS LIFE

Digitized by Google

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS CRASSUS

Marcus Crassus kinred, and youth.

ARCUS CRASSUS was the sonne of a Censor, who had also received the honor of triumphe: but him selfe was brought up in a litle house with two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers and mothers life time, and kept house together. Whereuppon it came to passe, that he was a man of such sober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethren being deceased, he maried his wife by whom he had children. For women, he lived as continent a life, as any Romane of his time: notwithstanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accused by Plotinus to have deflowred one of the Vestall Nunnes called Licinia. But in troth the cause of that suspicion grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasaunt garden hard by the suburbes of the city, wherewith Crassus was marvelously in love, and would faine have had it good cheape: and upon this only occasion was often seene in speeche with her, which made the people suspect him. But forasmuch as it seemed to the judges that his covetousnes was the cause that made him follow her, he was clered of thincest suspected, but he never left followinge of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The Romanes say there was but that only vice of covetousnes in Crassus, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, since it grew so great, as the note of that only did hide and cover all his other vices. Nowe to set out his extreame covetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they prove it by two manifest reasons. The first, his maner and meanes he used to get: and the seconde, the greatnes of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not

Crassus covetousnes.

Crassus riches.

Digitized by Google

left much more worthe, then three hundred talentes. And during the time that he delt in the affayers of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goodes wholly unto Hercules, kept open house for all the people of Rome, and gave also to every citizen of the same as much corne as would kepe him three monethes: and yet when he went from Rome to make warre with the Parthians, him selfe being desirous to know what all he had was worth, founde that it amounted to the summe of seven thowsande one hundred talentes. But if I may with license use evill speeche, wryting a troth: I say he got the most parte of his wealth by fire and blood, raising his greatest revenue of publicke calamities. For when Sylla had taken the citie of Rome, he made portesale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gave most, tearming them his booty, onely for that he would the nobility, and greatest men of power in the citie should be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open sale Crassus never left taking of giftes, nor bying of thinges of Sylla for profit. Furthermore, Crassus perceivinge that the greatest decay commonly of the buildinges in Rome came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the overmuch weight by numbers of stories built one apon an other: bought bondmen that were masons, carpinters, and these devisours and builders, and of those he had to the number of five hundred. Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was a burning, and the next houses adjoyning to it, which the owners solde for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning: so that by proces of time, the most parte of the houses in Rome came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many slaves to his workemen, he never built any house from the ground, saving his owne house wherein he dwelt: saying, that such as delighted to builde, undid them selves without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of silver, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and plowmen to followe the same: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in respect of the profit his slaves and bondemen brought him dayly in. As readers, scriveners, goldsmythes, bankers, receivers, stewards of householde, carvers, and other such

CRASSUS

How Crassus came by his goodes.

Crassus saying of builders.

Digitized by Google

officers at the table, taking paines him selfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should doe: and to be shorte, he thought the greatest care a good householder ought to have, was to see his slaves or servauntes well taught, being the most lively cattell and best instruments of a mans house. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake: that all thinges must be done by servauntes, and his servauntes must be ruled by him. For we see that the arte and skill to be a good husbande, when it consisteth in government of thinges without life or sence, is but a base thing, only tending to gaine: but when it dependeth apon good order and government of men, me thinkes then it is to knowe how to governe well a commonwealth. But as his judgement was good in the other, so was it very bad in this: that he thought no man riche, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole army with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king Archidamus was wont to say) is not made with any certainty of expence: and therefore there must no sufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. But herein Marius and he differed farre in opinion: who havinge allowed every Romane foureteene akers lande (called with them *Iugera*) understanding that some were not pleased, but would have more, made them this aunswer: The gods forbid any Romane should thinke that land litle, which in deede is enough to suffise for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, Crassus was curteous to straungers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his frendes money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roundly demaunde his money of them. So, his curtesie to lende many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great usery. In deede when he bad any man to come to his table, his fare was but even ordinary, without all excesse: but his fine and cleanly service, and the good entertainment he gave every man that came to him, pleased them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefly studied eloquence, and that sorte specially that best would serve his turne to speake in open

Crassus care about servauntes.

What belongeth to good husbandry, and in whom it consistes.

Crassus judgement who was a riche man.

Archidamus saying of warre.

Crassus fare at his bourde.

Crassus eloquence.

Digitized by Google

presence: so that he became the best spoken man in Rome of all his time, and by his great industry and diligent indevor excelled all them that even by nature were most apt unto it. For some say, he had never so small nor litle a cause in hande, but he alwayes came prepared, having studied his case before for pleading: and oftentimes also when Pompey, Cæsar, and Cicero refused to rise, and speake to matters, Crassus would defend every cause if he were requested. And therfore was he generally beloved and well thought of, bicause he shewed him selfe painfull, and willing to helpe every man. Likewise was his gentlenes marvelously esteemed, bicause he saluted every body curteously, and made much of all men: for, whom so ever he met in the streetes that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he never so meane, he woulde speake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is sayd also he was very well studied in stories, and indifferently seene in Philosophy, specially in Aristotels workes, which one Alexander did read unto him, a man that became very gentle and pacient of nature, by using of Crassus company: for it were hard to say, whether Alexander was poorer when he came to Crassus or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his frendes he would ever have Alexander abroade with him, and while they were abroade, would lend him a hat to cover his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull pacience of a man! to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man being in great poverty, did not place poverty in thinges indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. Cinna and Marius being now of greater power, and comming on directly towardes Rome, every man suspected straight their coming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of Rome. For it so fell out in deede, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom Crassus father and his brother were of the number, and him selfe being at that time but young, escaped the present daunger only by flight. Furthermore, Crassus hearing that they layed waite to take him, and that the tyrannes sought him in every place, tooke

CRASSUS

Crassus flieth Marius and Cinna.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS three of his frends in his company, and tenne servauntes only, and fled into Spayne with all possible speede, where he had bene with his father before, and had got some frendes when he was Prætor, and ruled that contrie. Neverthelesse, seeing every body afrayed, and mistrusting Marius cruelty as if he had bene at their dores, he durst not bewray him selfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him in a great cave being within the lande of one Vibius Piciacus by the sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this Piciacus, to feele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his vittells beganne to faile him. Vibius hearing that Crassus was safe, and had scaped, became very glad of it: and understanding how many persones he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not him selfe to see him, but called one of his slaves (who was his receiver and occupied that ground for him) and bringing him neere the place where Crassus was, commaunded him every night to provide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rocke whereunder was the cave, and make no wordes of it, neither be inquisitive for whom it was, for if he did, he should dye for it: and otherwise, for keping the thing secret as he commaunded, he promised to make him a free man. This cave is not farre from the sea side, and is closed in round about with two rockes that mete together, which receive a soft coole winde into them. When ye are entred into the cave, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownes thereof are many other caves of great receite one within an other, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall riftes of the rockes also receiving the light without, where they mete together, do send it inward into the cave. So that in the day time it is marvelous light, and hath no dampe ayer, but very pure and drye, by reason of the thickenes of the rocke, which sendeth all the moistnesse and vapour into that springinge well. Crassus keeping close in this cave, Vibius receiver brought vittells thither dayly to relieve him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could understand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, observing the houre and time of his com-

Vibius curtesie unto Crassus.

Crassus cave.

Digitized by Google

ming when he brought the same. He provided them no more then would even necessarily serve their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall: for Vibius was bent to entertaine Crassus as honorably as he could possible, insomuch as he considered he was a younge man, and therefore reason woulde he shoulde offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieve his necessity only, he thought that rather a parte of feare, than any shew of love towards him. One day he tooke two fayer young damsells, and brought them with him to the sea side: and when he came to the cave, shewed them where they should get up, and bad them not be afrayed. Crassus at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whome they sought. They being instructed by Vibius what they should say, aunswered, that they sought their master that was hidden there. Then Crassus knew this was Vibius mirth to shew him curtesie: so he received them into his cave, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting Vibius understand by them what he lacked. Fenestella wryteth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, Crassus (after he had lyen hidden in this cave eight monethes) understanding that Cinna was dead, came out: and so soone as he made him selfe to be knowen, there repayred a great number of souldiers unto him, of whom he only chose two thowsand five hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called Malaca, as divers doe wryte, but he flatly denied it, and stowtly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwardes having gotten shippes together, went into Africke, to Metellus Pius, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with Metellus, but jarring with him, went unto Sylla, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. Sylla afterwardes arriving in Italie, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his company, gave every one of them charge under him, and sent Crassus into the contry of the Marsians, to leavy men of warre there. Crassus desiring certaine bandes of

Crassus viage into Africke.

Crassus sent by Sylla into the contry of the Marsians.

Digitized by Google

Sylla to aide him, being driven to passe by his enemies: Sylla aunswered him angrely againe: I geve thee thy father, thy brother, thy frendes and kinsemen to aide thee, whom they most wickedly have slaine and murdered, and whose deathes I pursue with hot revenge of maine army, apon those bloody murtherers that have slaine them. Crassus being netled with these wordes, departed thence presently, and stowtly passing through his enemies, leavied a good number of souldiers: and was ever after ready at Syllaes commaundement in all his warres. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention betwext him and Pompey. For Pompey being younger than Crassus, and borne of a wicked father in Rome, whom the people more hated than ever they did man: came yet to great honor by his valliancy, and by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that Sylla did Pompey that honor many times, which he seldom did unto them that were his elders, nor yet unto those that were his equalls: as to rise up when he came towardes him, to put of his cappe, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant generall. And this galled Crassus to the hart, although he had no wrong in that Pompey was taken before him, bicause he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and also bicause these two vices that were bred in him, misery and covetousnes, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the sacke of the city of Tuder, which he tooke, he prively got the most parte of the spoyle to him selfe, wherof he was accused before Sylla. Yet in the last battell of all this civill warre (which was the greatest and most daungerous of all other) even before Rome it selfe, the wing that Sylla led, was repulsed and overthrowen: but Crassus that led the right wing, overcame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent Sylla word of his victory, and demaunded vittells for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiscate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be slaine, for litle or nothing. And it is sayd also, that he made one an outlaw in the contry of the Brutians, without Syllaes privitie or commaundement, only to have his goodes. But Sylla being told of it, would never after use him in any

The emulation betwext Crassus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Crassus tooke the city of Tuder.

The valliantnes of Crassus.

Digitized by Google

open service. Surely this is a straunge thing, that Crassus selfe being a great flatterer of other, and could creepe into any mans favor: was yet himselfe easie to be won through flattery, of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is sayd of him that he had this property: that though him selfe was as extremely covetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproved and utterly misliked them that had his owne humor of avarice. Pompeyes honor that he attained unto dayly, by bearing great charge and rule in the warres, did greatly trouble Crassus: both bicause he obtained the honor of triumphe before he came to be Senatour, and also that the Romanes commonly called him, Pompeius Magnus, to say, Pompey the great. Crassus beinge in place on a time when one sayd that sawe Pompey comming, See, Pompey the great is come. And how great I pray ye, sayd he scornefully? howbeit dispayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gave him selfe unto the affayers of the city: and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that sued for any office, or demaunded any thing els of the people, he attained in the end to the like estimacion and authoritie that Pompey was come unto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For Pompeyes fame and power was greater in Rome, when him selfe was absent: and contrarywise when he was there present, Crassus oftentimes was better esteemed than he. Pompey caried a great majesty and gravity in his maner of life, would not be seene often of the people, but kept from repayring to open places, and would speake but in fewe mens causes, and that unwillingly: all to keepe his favor and credit whole for him selfe, when he stoode in neede to employ the same. Where Crassus diligence was profitable to many, bicause he kept continually in the market place, and was easie to be repayred unto by any man that required his helpe, dayly following those exercises, indevoring him selfe to pleasure every man: so that by this easie accesse and familiaritie, for favor and good will, he grew to exceede the gravety and majesty of Pompey. But as for

Crassus envieth Pompey.

The Romanes called Pompey, the great.

Crassus industry and cause of rising in the common wealth.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

the worthines of their persons, their eloquence of speeche, and their good grace and countenaunce: in all those (it is sayd) Pompey and Crassus were both alike. And this envy and emulation never caried Crassus away, with any open malice and ill will. For though he was sory to see Pompey and Cæsar honored above him: yet the worme of ambition never bred malice in him. No, though Cæsar when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept prisoner cryed out alowde: O Crassus, what joy will this be to thee, when thou shalt heare I am in prison. This notwithstanding, they were afterwardes good frendes, as it appeareth. For Cæsar being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spayne, and not being able to satisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to stay and arrest his cariage: Crassus in that time of neede forsooke him not, but became his surety for the summe of eight hundred and thirty talentes. In fine, all Rome being devided into three factions, to wit, of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus (for as for Cato, the estimacion they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then practised) insomuch as the gravest and wisest men tooke parte with Pompey. The liveliest youthes, and likeliest to runne into desperate attemptes, they followed Cæsars hope. Crassus keeping the middest of the streame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpose. For in matters of government in the common weale, he neither shewed him selfe a constant frend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine, was easily made frend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reprove, defende and condemne, the same lawes, and the same men. His estimacion grewe more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the aunswere that one Sicinius (a very busie headed man, and one that troubled every governor of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not busie with Crassus amongest the rest: and howe it happened that he so scaped his handes? O, sayd he, he caries haye on his horne. The maner was then at Rome, if any man had a curst bullocke

Three factions at Rome.

Crassus inconstancie.

Sicinius proverbe.

Digitized by Google

that would strike with his horne, to winde haye about his heade, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commocion of fensers, which some call Spartacus warre, their wasting and destroying of Italie came apon this occasion. In the citie of Capua, there was one Lentulus Batiatus, that kept a great number of fensers at unrebated foyles, whom the Romanes call Gladiatores, whereof the most parte were Gaules and Thracians. These men were kept locked up, not for any fault they had committed, but only for the wickednes of their master that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other at the sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracy being bewrayed, three score and eighteene of them entred into a cookes house, and with the spittes and kitching knives, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fensers weapons, that were brought from Capua going to some other city: those they also tooke by force, and arming them selves therewith, got them then to a strong place of scituacion. Where amongest them selves they chose three Captaines, and one Spartacus a Thracian borne (and of those contrymen that go wandring up and downe with their heards of beastes never staying long in a place) they made their Generall. This Spartacus was not onely valliant, but strong made withall, and endued with more wisedom and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his state and condicion: and for civility and good understanding, a man more like to the Græcians, than any of his contrie men commonly be. It is reported, that when Spartacus came first to Rome to be sold for a slave, there was founde as he slept, a snake wound about his face. His wife seeing it, being his owne contry woman, and a wise woman besides, possest with Bacchus spirite of divination: said plainly that it did signifie, that one day he shoulde be of great power, much dread, and have very good successe. This same woman prophetesse was then with him, and followed him likewise when he fled. Now first they overthrewe certaine souldiers that came out of Capua against them, thinking to take them: and stripping

The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.

The wit and behavior of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bondemens warre.

Digitized by Google

them of their armor and weapons, made them glad to take the fensers weapons, which they threw away as vile and unseemely. After that, the Romanes sent Clodius Prætor against them, with three thowsand men. Who besieged them in their forte, scituate apon a hill that had a verie steepe and narowe ascent unto it, and kept the passage up to them: all the rest of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging over, and apon them great store of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest strippes, and made thereof ladders, like to these shippe ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the toppe of the hill even to the very bottome: apon those they all came safely downe, saving one that taried above to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the same ladder saved him selfe last of all. The Romanes mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behinde, and put them in such a feare with the sodaine onset, as they fled apon it every man, and so was their campe taken. Thereupon divers heardmen and sheapherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, joyned with the Romanes that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they used as scowtes and spialls to discover. Apon this overthrowe was sent an other Captaine from Rome, called Publius Varinus, against these bondmen: who first overcame Furius, the Lieutenant of Varinus in battell, and two thowsand of his men: and after that againe they slue one Cossinius, and overthrew a great army of his, being joyned with P. Varinus, as his fellow and counseller. Spartacus having intelligence that Cossinius was bathing him selfe at a place called the salte pittes, had almost taken him tardy, having much a do by flight to save himselfe: notwithstanding, Spartacus wanne all his cariage at that time, and having him hard in chase, tooke his whole campe with great slaughter of his men, among whom Cossinius selfe was slaine. Spartacus having thus now in sundry battells and encounters overcome the Prætor him selfe, P. Varinus, and at the length taken his sergeauntes from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horse whereon he rode him

Clodius a Romane Prætor, sent against Spartacus with 3000 men.

Clodius the Prætor overcome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prætor, sent against Spartacus.

Spartacus victory of P. Varinus.

Digitized by Google

selfe: was growen then to such a power, as he was dreaded of every man. Yet all this notwithstandinge, Spartacus wisely considering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might overcome the power of the Romanes: marched with his armie towardes the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them over, everie man to repayre home to his owne contrie, some into Gaule, the rest into Thracia. But his souldiers trustinge to their multitude, and perswading them selves to doe great thinges: would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and overrunne all Italie. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexity, not onely for the shame and dishonor that their men should be overcome in that sorte by slaves and rebells, but also for the feare and daunger all Italie stoode in besides: sent both the Consulls together, Gellius and Lentulus, as unto as difficult and daungerous a warre, as any that could have happened unto them. This Gellius one of the Consuls, setting sodainly apon a band of the Germaines, which in a bravery and contempt as it were, dispersed them selves from their campe, put them to the sworde every man. Lentulus, his colleague and fellow Consull on thother side, compassed in Spartacus round with a great army: but Spartacus charged his Lieutenaunts that led tharmy, gave them battell, overthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on still with his army towardes the Alpes, Cassius the Prætor, and Governor of Gaule about the Po, came against him with an army of tenne thowsand men. Spartacus joyned battell with him, and overcame him. Cassius having lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty saved him selfe by flying. The Senate hearing of Cassius overthrow, were marvelously offended with the Consulls, and sent commaundement unto them, to leave of the warre: and thereuppon gave the whole charge thereof unto Marcus Crassus, who was accompanied in this jorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was marvelously esteemed, and also for the good will they bare him. Now went Crassus from Rome, and camped in Romania, tarying Spartacus comming, who was marching thitherwarde. He sent Mummius one of his Lieutenauntes with two legyons,

Gellius and Lentulus, both Consulls, sent against Spartacus.

Cassius overcomen by Spartacus.

Crassus sent against Spartacus.

Mummius, Crassus Lieutenant.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

to fetche a compasse about to intrappe the enemie behinde, straightly commaunding him to follow Spartacus rereward, but in no case to offer him skirmishe nor battell. But Mummius notwithstanding this straight commaundement, seeing some hope geven him to doe good, set apon Spartacus, who gave him the overthrowe, slue numbers of his men, and moe had slaine, saving that certaine of them saved them selves by flight, having only lost their armor and weapons. Hereupon Crassus was grievously offended with Mummius, and receiving his souldiers that fled, gave them other armor and weapons: but yet upon sureties, that they should keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before done. Now Crassus of the five hundred that were in the first ranckes, and that first fled, them he devided into fifty times ten, and out of every one of those he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renuing againe the auncient discipline of the Romanes to punish cowardly souldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in use. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open shame withall, and bicause it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the residue afrayed to see the terror of this punishment. Crassus having done execution in this sorte apon his men, led his armie against Spartacus: who still drue backe, untill he came to the sea side through the contry of the Lucanians, where he found in the straight of the Far of Messina, certaine pyrates shippes of Cilicia, and there determined to goe into Sicilia. And having put two thowsande men into Sicile, he then revived the warre there of the slaves, which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked small provocation to beginne it againe. But these pyrates having promised Spartacus to passe him over thither, and also taken giftes of him, deceived him, and brake their promise. Whereupon Spartacus returning backe againe from the sea side, went and camped within a litle Ile of the Rhegians. Crassus comming thither to seeke him, and perceiving that the nature of the place taught him what he should doe: determined with a walle to choke up the barre or channell entring into this litle Ilande, both to keepe his men occupied from idlenes, and his enemies also from vittell. This was a marvelous hard and long peece of

Mummius overthrowen by Spartacus.

The Romanes maner of punishinge cowardly souldiers.

Digitized by Google

worke, notwithstanding, Crassus finished it beyonde all mens expectation in a very shorte time, and brought a trenche from one side of the sea to the other overthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteene foote broade, and so many in height: and apon the toppe of this trenche built a high wall, of a marvelous strength, wherof Spartacus at the first made light accompt, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganne to faile him, and traveling all about the Ile for vittells, perceiving him selfe to be shut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of vittells to be had within all the compasse of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boysterous night, the winde being very great, when it snewed exceedingly, set his men a worke, and filled up a peece of the trenche (being of a small bredth) with earth, stones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he passed over the third parte of his army. Crassus at the first then became afrayed, least Spartacus would have taken his way directly toward Rome: but he was soone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against Spartacus, went and camped by them selves by the lake of Lucania, which water by reporte had this variable property, that at certaine times it chaungeth and becommeth very sweete, and at some other times againe so salte and brackish, as no man can drinke it. Crassus going to set apon them, drave them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very farre: bicause Spartacus came presently to the rescue with his army, who stayed the chase. Crassus had wrytten letters before to the Senate, to call Lucullus home out of Thracia, and Pompey out of Spayne, wherof he then repented him, and made all the possible speede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them so ever came to his helpe, to him would the people geve the honor of ending this warre, and not to him selfe. Wherefore he first determined to assaile them that had revolted from Spartacus, and camped by them selves: who were led by Caius Canicius, and an other called Castus. So Crassus sent six thowsand footemen before to take a hil, commaunding them to lye as close as they could,

Crassus wonderfull trench and wall.

A wonderfull nature of the water of the lake of Lucania.

Ambush laied by Crassus.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

that their enemies might not discover them: and so they did, and covered their morians and headpeeces as well as might be, from being seene. Neverthelesse they were discovered by two women doing sacrifice for the safety of their army: and therupon were all in great hasard of casting away, had not Crassus bene, who came in time to their aide, and gave the enemies the cruellest battell that ever they fought in all that warre. For there were slaine of the slaves at that battel, twelve thowsand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backes, and all the rest slaine in the place of their ranckes, valliantly fighting where they were set in battell ray. Spartacus after this overthrowe, drew towardes the mountaines of Petelie, whither Quintus, one of Crassus Lieutenauntes, and Scrofa his treasorer followed him, still skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, Spartacus turned sodainly apon them, made the Romanes flie that still harried his men in that sorte, and hurt Scrofa Crassus treasorer, so sore that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the Romanes by this overthrow, fell out in the ende to the utter destruction of Spartacus. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stowtenes and pride of them selves, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any lenger obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they should go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through Lucania against the Romanes. All this made for Crassus as he wished, for he had received newes that Pompey was comming, and that divers were suters for him at Rome to be sent in this jorney, saying, that the last victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would dispatche it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. Crassus therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trenche, which the bondmen seeking to prevent, came with great fury, and set apon them that wrought. Wherupon fell out a hotte skirmishe, and still supplies came on of either side: so that Spartacus in the ende perceiving he was forced unto it, put his whole

The valiantnes of Spartacus souldiers.

Spartacus retyred to the mountaines of Petelie.

Digitized by Google

power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, and that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on: he drew out his sword, and before them all slue the horse dead in the place, saying: If it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I shall have horse enow to serve my turne: and if I chaunse to be overcomen, then shal I nede no moe horses. After that, he flew in among the Romanes, thinking to attaine to fight with Crassus, but he could not come neere him: yet he slue with his owne handes two Romane Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as Spartacus was left alone among his enemies: who valliantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though Crassus fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed him selfe a noble and valliant Captaine, venturing his persone in any daunger, yet he could not keepe Pompey from the honor of ending this warre: for the slaves that scaped from this last battell where Spartacus was slaine, fell into Pompeyes handes, who made an end of all those rebellious rascalls. Pompey hereupon wrote to the Senate, that Crassus had overcomen the slaves in battell, but that he him selfe had pulled up that warre even by the very rootes. After this Pompey made his entrie into Rome, and triumphed for his victorie of Sertorius, and the conquest of Spayne. Crassus also sued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the small Ovation triumphe a foote, which they graunted him, any honor unto him, for overcomming a few fugitive bondmen. But for this small triumphe, whereby it was called *Ovatio*, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: see Marcellus life, where we have at large discoursed thereof. Now Pompey being called to be Consull: Crassus, though he stoode in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his frendshippe and furtherance. Pompey was very willing to helpe him, and was ever desirous to make Crassus beholding to him: whereupon he delt frendly for him, and spake openly in thassembly of the city, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint Crassus his companion and fellow Consull with him, then for making him selfe Consull. But notwithstandinge they were both Consulls

CRASSUS

The noble corage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeyes triumphe for Spayne.

Ovatio see Marcellus life.

Crassus made Consull with Pompey.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

together in office, their frendship held not, but were ever at jarre, and the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulshippe, without any memorable act done: saving that Crassus made a great sacrifice to Hercules, and kept an open feast for the people of Rome of a thowsande tables, and gave to every citizen corne to finde him three monethes. But in the ende of their Consulship, at a common counsell holden, there was a knight of Rome called Onatius Aurelius: (a man not greatly knowen, for that he had no dealinges in the state, and kept most in the contry) who gettinge up to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. Iupiter, said he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put Crassus and Pompey out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the people commaunded them to be frendes. Pompey sate still, and sayd never a word to it. But Crassus rose, and tooke Pompey by the hand, and turning him to the people, told them alowde: My Lordes of Rome, I do nothing unworthy of my selfe, to seeke Pompeis frendship and favor first, since you your selves have called him the great, before he had any heare upon his face, and that ye gave him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that Crassus did of any accompt in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it over without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goodes: although Luctatius Catulus was his colleague and fellowe Censor, as gentle a persone as any of that time that lived in Rome. Now Crassus at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring Egypt to pay tribute to the Romanes, Catulus did stowtly withstand him: wherby dissention falling out betwene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracie of Catiline, which in manner overthrewe the whole state and common wealth of Rome, Crassus was had in some jealousie and mistrust: bicause there was one of the confederats that named him for one of them, howbeit they gave no credit

Crassus great feasting of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

Crassus and Pompey made frendes.

Crassus Censor with Catulus.

Crassus suspected for Catilines conspiracie.

Digitized by Google

unto him. Yet Cicero in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassus and Cæsar, as confederats with Catiline: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he sayd: that Crassus came one night to him, and shewed him a letter touching Catiline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassus ever after hated him: and that he did not openly revenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For Publius Crassus much favoring eloquence, and beinge geven to his booke, bare great good will unto Cicero: in such sorte, that apon his banishment he put on chaunged garmentes as Cicero did, and procured many other youthes to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his frend. Cæsar now returning to Rome from the province he had in government, intended to sue for the Consulshippe: and perceiving that Pompey and Crassus were againe at a jarre, thought thus with him selfe, that to make the one of them his frend to further his sute, he should but procure thother his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his desire with the favor of them both, sought first the meanes to make them frendes, and perswaded with them, that by their controversie thone seeking thothers undoing, they did thereby but make Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, of the greater authority, who of them selves were of no power, if they two joyned in frendshippe together: for making both their frendes and factions one, they might rule the state and common wealth even as they would. Cæsar having by his perswasion reconciled Crassus and Pompey, joyning their three powers in one, made them selves unvincible, which afterwardes turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of Rome. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but him selfe also of great power through them. For when they beganne to favor Cæsar, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaved him selfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gave him charge of great armies, and then sent him to governe the Gaules: which was, as a man may say, even them selves to put him into the castell

Crassus and Cæsar confederates with Catiline.

Crassus Ciceroes enemie.

Cæsar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together.

Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, al three joyned in frendshippe.

Digitized by Google

that should kepe all the citie in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoyle and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing els, but his extreame ambition. But as for Crassus, besides his old vice of covetousnes rooted in him, he added to that a newe avarice and desire of triumphes and victories, which Cæsars fame for prowes and noble actes in warres did throughly kindell in him, that he being otherwise his better in all thinges, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke such holde as it never left him, till it brought him unto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great misery. Thus Cæsar being come out of his province of Gaule unto Luca, divers Romanes went thither to see him, and among other, Pompey and Crassus. They having talked with him in secret, agreed among them to devise to have the whole power of Rome in their handes: so that Cæsar should kepe his armie together, and Crassus and Pompey should take other provinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Crassus should againe sue the second time to be Consulls, and that Cæsars frendes at Rome should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consulls. Thereupon Pompey and Crassus returned to Rome to that ende, but not without suspicion of their practise: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of Cæsar in Luca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey in open Senate, if he ment to make sute to be Consull. Pompey aunswered them: peradventure he did, peradventure he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for the good men, not for the evill. Pompeyes answers were thought very prowde and hawty. Howbeit Crassus aunswered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Upon these words, some were so bold to make sute for the Consulshippe, as Domitius among other. But afterwardes Pompey and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest left of their sute

Pompey and Crassus did meete with Cæsar at Luca.

Pompeyes stowt aunswer.

Crassus modest aunswere.

Digitized by Google

for feare of them, Domitius only excepted: whom Cato so prayed and intreated, as his kinseman and frend, that he made him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defense of their libertie, and how that it was not the Consulshippe Crassus and Pompey looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: and that they sued not for the office, but to get such provinces and armies into their handes as they desired, under colour and countenaunce of the Consulship. Cato ringing these words into their eares, and beleving it certainly to be true as he sayd, brought Domitius as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men joyned with them: bicause they wondred what the matter ment that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Consulls, and why they made sute to be joyned together, and not to have any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. Pompey fearing he should be prevented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongest other, when the day came to choose the Consulls, Domitius going earely in the morning before day, accompanied with his frends to the place where the election should be: his man that caried the torch before him was slaine, by some whom Pompey had layed in waite, and many of his companie hurt, and among others, Cato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whether they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, untill they were both chosen Consulls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and drave Cato out of the market place, and slue some of them that resisted and would not flye. They also then prolonged Cæsars government of the Gaules for five yeres more, and procured for them selves by decree of the people, the contries of Syria and Spayne. Againe, when they drew lottes together, Syria fell to Crassus, and Spayne to Pompey. Every man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth Pompey should goe farre from Rome: and him selfe also loving his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at

Pompey made him selfe and Crassus Consulls by force.

Pompey and Crassus Consulls the second time.

Crassus had the government of Syria.

Digitized by Google

Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoyced most at his happe, that he should goe into Syria: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that ever came to him, for he would ever be talking of the jorney, were he in never so great or straunge company. Furthermore, being among his frendes and familiars, he would geve out such fonde boastes of it, as no young man could have made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeres and nature, having lived all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentacion as any man living. But then forgetting him selfe too much had such fond conceites in his heade, as he not only hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered him selfe that the world should see all that Lucullus had done against king Tigranes, and Pompey against king Mithridates, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the Bactrians, the Indians, and the great Occean sea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people there was no mention made of any warres against the Parthians. Nowe every man sawe Crassus ambition and greedy desire of honor: insomuch as Cæsar selfe wrote unto Crassus out of Gaule, commending his noble intent and forwardnes, and wished him to goe thorow therewith. But Atteius one of the Tribunes being bent against Crassus to withstand his departure: (having divers other confederats with him to further his purpose, who much misliked that any man of a bravery and lustines should make warre with any nation or people that had no way offended the Romanes, but were their frends and confederates) Crassus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to assist and accompany him out of the city, bicause he was of great authority and much reverenced of the people, as it appeared then. For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let Crassus of his departure, and to crie out apon him: yet when they saw Pompey goe before him, with a pleasant smyling countenaunce, they quieted them selves, and made a lane for them, suffering them to passe on, and sayd nothing. This notwithstanding, Atteius the Tribune stepped before them, and commaunded Crassus he should not departe the city, with

Atteius the Tribune, against Crassus departure.

Digitized by Google

great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiving Crassus still held on his way notwithstanding, he commaunded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the officer to doe it. So the sergeaunt dismissed Crassus. Then Atteius running towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdish with coles, and set it in the middest of the streete. When Crassus came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprinckelinges over it, pronouncing horrible curses, and calling apon terrible and straunge names of goddes. The Romanes say that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great force: as he that is once cursed with that curse can never escape it, nor he that useth it doth ever prosper after it. And therefore fewe men doe use it, and never but apon urgent occasion. But then they much reproved Atteius, for using of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreame curses, which were much hurtefull to the common wealth, although he for his contries sake had thus cursed Crassus. Crassus settinge forward notwithstandinge, sayled on, and arrived at Brundusium, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his shippes: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the contry of Galatia. There he found king Deiotarus, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunte him pretily, sayd unto him: What, O king, beginne you to builde now in the afternone? To whom the king of the Galatians againe smiling made aunswere: And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not very earely (me thinkes) to make warre with the Parthians. For in deede Crassus was three score and upward, and yet his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our story againe. Crassus being comen into the contry, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge apon the river of Euphrates, and passed his armie over it without any let or trouble. So entring into Mesopotamia, received many cities, that of good will yeelded them selves unto him. Howbeit there was one city called Zenodotia, whereof Appolonius was tyran, where Crassus lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by force, sacked their

CRASSUS

Observations of cursinges among the Romanes.

Crassusjorney into Syria.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

Crassus passeth over the river of Euphrates.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

Zenodotia taken by Crassus.

goodes, and sold the prisoners by the drumme. The Greekes called this citie Zenodotia, and for winning of the same Crassus suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, soveraigne Captaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great thinges, making such reconing of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seven thowsand of his footemen in garrison, in those cities that had yeelded unto him, and about a thowsand horsmen: he returned backe to winter in Syria.

Publius Crassus came to his father in Syria.

Thither came his sonne Publius Crassus to him out of Gaule from Iulius Cæsar, who had geven him such honors, as Generalles of Rome did use to geve to valliant souldiers for reward of their good service: and brought unto his father a thowsand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault Crassus committed in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently have gone on still, and entred into Babylon and Seleucia, (cities that were ever enemies unto the Parthians) he tracted time, and gave them leasure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in Syria, seeming rather to leade a marchauntes life, than a chiefetaines. For he never saw his army, nor trained them out to any marshall exercise, but fell to counting the revenue of the cities, and was many dayes busily occupied weying of the gold and silver in the temple of the goddesse Hierapolis. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furnishe him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them for a summe of money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, and despised of every body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse Hierapolis, whom some suppose to be Venus, other say Iuno, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe cause that giveth beginning of moisture to every thing that commeth forth and hath a being, and taught men the original cause also of every good thing. For as Crassus the father, and sonne both, were comming out of the temple: Crassus the younger

Great faultes committed by Crassus.

Digitized by Google

fell first on his face, and the father afterwardes apon his sonne. Likewise as he was gatheringe his garrisons together, callinge them out of the cities into the fielde, there came Ambassadors unto him from Arsaces, kinge of the Parthians: who delivered him their message in fewe wordes, and tolde him, that if this army he brought came from the Romanes to make warre with their master, then that he would have no peace nor frendship with them, but would make mortall warres against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that Crassus against the peoples mindes of Rome, for his owne covetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a jolity to make warre with the Parthians, and to invade their contry: then in that respect Arsaces would deale more favorably, in consideration of Crassus yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to departe with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in prison, than in garrison within his cities. Thereto Crassus coragiously aunswered, that he would make them aunswere in the city of Seleucia. Therewith Vagises, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing Crassus the palme of his hand, told him thus: Heare will sooner grow in the palme of my hand, Crassus, than you will come to Seleucia. In this sorte the Ambassadors tooke their leave of Crassus, and returned to their kinge Hyrodes, tellinge him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane space, certaine of Crassus souldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of Mesopotamia, having scaped marvelous daungerously and with great difficulty: brought him newes of importance, having them selves seene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy and their maner of fight in the assaultes they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any daunger making thinges more fearefull and daungerous than they be in deede: they reported that it was unpossible by flyinge to save them selves, if they did followe in chase: neither to overtake them also, if they fled. And further, that they had such kinde of arrowes as would flie swifter, than a mans eye could discerne them, and would perce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the

The first signes of Crassus ill lucke.

This name of Arsaces, or Arsacides, was common to all the kings of the Parthians.

Ambassadors of the Parthians sent to Crassus.

Vagises wordes, shewing Crassus the palme of his hande.

Hyrodes, king of the Parthians.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

horsemens weapons they used, that they were such, as no armor could possibly hold out: and their armors on thother side made of such a temper and metall, as no force of any thing could pearce them thorow. The Romanes hearing these newes, fell from their former stowtnes and corage, being borne in hande before, that the Parthians differed nothing at all from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had overcome and spoyled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made accompt, that their greatest paynes in this warre, was but the tediousnes of the jorney they had to make, and the trouble they should have to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrarie to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustely fought withall. Hereupon, divers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom Cassius the tresorer was one) advised Crassus to stay, and to deliberate in counsell to knowe whether he were best to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The soothsayers them selves did partely let Crassus understand, that the goddes shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But Crassus gave no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only listned to them that counselled him to make hast. Yet Crassus chiefest comforte and incoragement, was of Artabazes, king of Armenia, who came to his campe with sixe thowsand horse, which were but only the kinges cornet and garde. Againe he promised him other tenne thowsand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thowsande footemen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled Crassus to enter the Parthians contrie upon Armeniaes side: bicause his campe shoulde not onely have plenty of vittells, which he would send him out of his contry, but for that he should also march in more safety, having a contrie full of mountaines and woddes before him very ill for horsemen, which was the only strength and force of the Parthians. Crassus coldly thanked Artabazes for his good will, and all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his jorney through Mesopotamia, where he had left many good souldiers of the Romanes. And thus departed the king of Armenia from

Cassius treasorer under Crassus.

Crassus forewarned by the Soothsayers of his ill successe.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, came to Crassus campe.

Digitized by Google

him. But now as Crassus was passing his army apon the bridge he had made over the river of Euphrates, there fel out sodaine straunge and terrible crackes of thunder, with fearefull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreover, out of a great blacke clowde came a wonderfull storme and tempest of winde apon the bridge, that the marvelous force thereof overthrewe a great parte of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Besides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twise striken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horse in like case, being bravely furnished and set out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and lept into the river with his ryder on his backe, who were both drowned, and never seene after. They say also, that the first Eagle and ensigne that was to be taken up when they marched, turned backe of it selfe, without any handes layed uppon it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the vittells unto the souldiers, after they had all passed over the bridge, the first thing that was geven them, was salte, and water lintels, which the Romanes take for a token of death and mourning, bicause they use it at the funeralles of the deade. After all this, when Crassus was exhorting his souldiers, a worde scaped his mouth that troubled the armie marvelously. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made over the river of Euphrates, of purpose, bicause there should not a man of them returne backe againe. Where in deede when he had seene that they tooke this worde in ill parte, he should have called it in againe, or have declared his meaning, seeing his men so amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was so wilfull. In the ende he made ordinarie sacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the Soothsayer gave him the intrells of the beast that was sacrificed, they fell out of his handes. Crassus perceiving that the standers by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, You see what age is: yet shall you not see my sword fall out of my hande. So having ended his sacrifice, he beganne to marche forwarde into the contrie by the rivers side, with seven legions of footemen, and litle lacke of foure thowsand horse, and in maner as many shot and slinges lightly armed. There re-

CRASSUS
Wonderfull signes and tokens to Crassus.

Crassus armie was fifty thowsand men.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS turned to him certaine of his skoutes that had viewed the contry, and told him there was not an enemy to be seene in the field: howbeit that they had founde the tracke of a marvelous number of horse, which seemed as they were returned backe. Then Crassus first of all beganne to hope well: and his souldiers also, they fell to despise the Parthians, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet Cassius his treasorer ever perswaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refresh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garrison, until such time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or else that he would march directly towards Seleucia by the rivers side, which lay fit for him to vittell him selfe easily by botes that would alwayes follow his campe, and should be sure besides that the enemies could not environ him behinde, so that having no way to set apon them but before, they should have none advantage of them. Crassus going about then to consult of the matter, there came one Ariamnes unto him, a Captaine of the Arabians, a fine subtill fellow, which was the greatest mischiefe and evill, that fortune could send to Crassus at that present time, to bring him to utter ruine and destruction. For there were some of Crassus souldiers that had served Pompey before in that contrie, who knew him very well, and remembred that Pompey had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the Romanes. But Ariamnes had bene labored at that time by the king of Parthiaes Captaines, and was wonne by them to deceive Crassus, and to intise him all he could, to drawe him from the river and the woddy contry, and to bring him into the plaine fielde, where they might compasse him in with their horsemen: for they ment nothing lesse than to fight with the Romanes at the swordes poynte. This barbarous Captaine Ariamnes comming to Crassus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled Crassus army, reproving him that he came so slowly forward, tracting time in that sorte as he did, preparing him selfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and

Ariamnes, a Captaine of the Arabian.

Ariamnes deceiveth Crassus.

Digitized by Google

handes swift and readie against thenemies: who (for the chiefest of them) had of long time occupied them selves to flie with their best moveables, towardes the desertes of Scythia and Hyrcania. Therfore if you determine (sayd he) to fight, it were good you made hast to meete them, before the king have gathered all his power together. For nowe you have but Surena and Sillaces, two of his Lieutenauntes against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you that you followe him not: and for the king him selfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all. For king Hyrodes had devided his army in two partes at the first, whereof him selfe tooke the one, and went to spoyle the realme of Armenia, to be revenged of king Artabazes: and with the other he sent Surena against the Romanes, not for any contempt he had of Crassus (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefest noble men of Rome, and to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king Artabazes in Armenia) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to avoyde the greater daunger, and to keepe farre of, that he might with safetie see what would happen, and therefore sent Surena before to hasard battell, and to turne the Romanes backe againe. For Surena was no meane man, but the second person of Parthia next unto the king: in riches, reputacion, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefest of his time among all the Parthians, and for execution, no man like him. Surena, when he did but remove into the contry only with his household, had a thowsand camels to cary his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curtisans, a thowsand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many moe besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine and court made above ten thowsand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancesters, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roial crowne or diadeame apon the kinges head. Moreover, he had restored king Hyrodes that then reigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driven out of his realme: and had wonne him also the great city of Seleucia, him selfe being the first man that scaled the walls, and overthrew them with his

CRASSUS

Surena and Sillaces, Arsaces Lieutenauntes.

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surenaes courte and traine.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS owne handes that resisted him. And though he was under thirtie yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he overcame Crassus. Who through his rashnes and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare and timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him unto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine Ariamnes having then brought Crassus to beleve all that he sayd, and drawen him by perswasion from the river of Euphrates, unto a goodly plaine contrie, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, bicause they entred into sandes where their feete soncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could decerne by eye, so that not only extreame thirst, and miserable way marvelously amazed the Romanes, but the discomforte of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight upon: that, above all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither farre nor nere any sight of tree, river, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sandes on everie side, rounde about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betraied. Againe, when newes came that Artabazes king of Armenia, was kept in his contrie with a great warre king Hyrodes made apon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towardes Armenia, that both their armies being joyned together they might the better fight with king Hyrodes, if not, that he would alwayes keepe the woddy contrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: Crassus was so wilfull, as he would wryte no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leasure then to harken to the Armenians, but that afterwardes he would be revenged well enough of Artabazes treason. Cassius his treasorer was much offended with Crassus for this answere: howbeit perceiving he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke every thing in evill parte, he sayd unto him, he would tell

Surena a young man, but very wise.

Artabazes sent an Embassage unto Crassus.

Crassus wilfulnes.

Digitized by Google

him no more. Notwithstanding, taking Ariamnes this Captaine of the Arabians a side, he rebuked him roundly, and sayd: O thou wretche, what cursed devill hath brought thee to us, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched and charmed Crassus: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an Arabian Captaine of theeves, than for a Generall and Consull of the Romanes? Ariamnes being crafty and subtill, speaking gently unto Cassius, did comforte him, and prayed him to have pacience, and going and comming by the bandes, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he tolde them merily: O my fellowes, I beleve you thinke to marche through the contry of Naples, and looke to meete with your pleasaunt springes, goodly groves of wodde, your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreshe you, and doe not remember that you passe through the desertes of Arabia and Assyria. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the Romanes a while: but afterwardes he dislodged betimes, before he was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without Crassus privity, whom he bare in hande, that he would goe set some broyle and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that Crassus the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the maner was of the Romane Generalls) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him selfe, he straight chaunged it againe. It is sayd moreover, that the ensigne bearers when they should march away, had much a doe to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But Crassus scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to marche forward, compelling the footemen to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a fewe of their skowtes came in, whom they had sent to discover: who brought newes howe the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what a doe they had them selves to scape with life, and that they were a marvelous great army, and wel appointed to geve them battell. This newes made all the campe afrayed, but Crassus selfe more than the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in maner besides him selfe. At the first following Cassius minde, he set his ranckes wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way a

CRASSUS

Crassus army against the Parthians.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

sonder one from an other, bicause he would take in as much of the plaine as he coulde, to keepe the enemies from compassinge them in, and so devided the horsemen into the winges. Yet afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and straited the battell of his footemen, facioning it like a bricke, more long than broade, making a front, and shewing their faces every way. For there were twelve cohorts or ensignes imbattelled on either side, and by every cohorte a company of horse, bicause there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gave Cassius the leading of one wing, his sonne Publius Crassus the other, and him selfe led the battel in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Balissus, where there was no great store of water, but yet happely lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most parte of Crassus Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to knowe their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But Crassus yeelding to his sonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his army, and to set apon the enemy presently: commaunded, that such as would eate, should eate standing, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not fayer and softly as when they go to geve battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the Romanes at the first to be so great a number, neither so bravelie armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, Surena had of purpose hid them, with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hyde their bright armors, he had cast clokes and beastes skinnes apon them. But when both the armies approached neere thone to thother, and that the signe to geve charge was lift up in the ayer: first they filled the fielde with a dreadfull noyse to heare. For the Parthians doe not encorage their men to

Surenaes stratageame, for the hiding of his great army.

Crassus battell with the Parthians.

Digitized by Google

fight with the sounde of a horne, neither with trompets nor howboyes, but with great kettle drommes hollow within, and about them they hang litle bells and copper rings, and with them they all make a noise every where together, and it is like a dead sounde, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast, and a fearefull noyse as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that soonest moveth the harte and spirite of any man, and maketh him soonest besides him selfe. The Romanes being put in feare with this dead sounde, the Parthians straight threw the clothes and coverings from them that hid their armor, and then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, and their horses barbed with steele and copper. And Surena also, General of the Parthians, who was as goodly a personage, and as valliant, as any other in all his host, though his beawtie somewhat effeminate, in judgement shewed small likelyhoode of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his heare after the facion of the Medes, contrary to the maner of the Parthians, who let their heare grow after the facion of the Tartares, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. The Parthians at the first thought to have set apon the Romanes with their pykes, to see if they could breake their first ranckes. But when they drewe neere and saw the depth of the Romanes battell standing close together, firmely keping their ranckes: then they gave backe, making as though they fled, and dispersed them selves. But the Romanes marveled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a devise to environne them on every side. Whereupon Crassus commaunded his shot and light armed men to assaile them, which they did: but they went not farre, they were so beaten in with arrowes, and driven to retyre to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the Romanes, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shotte, which brake their armors, and ranne thorowe any thing they hit, were it never so hard or soft. The Parthians thus still drawing backe, shotte all together on every side, not a fore hande, but at adventure: for the battell of the Romanes

The Parthians kettle drommes.

The person of Surena, Generall of the Parthians described.

The Parthians fought retyring.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

stoode so neere together, as if they would, they could not misse the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, and had bigge strong bowes, which sent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The Romanes by meanes of these bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their rancks, they were grievously wounded: againe if they left them, and sought to run apon the Parthians to fight at hande with them, they saw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them selves. For, as fast as the Romanes came apon them, so fast did the Parthians flie from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the Scythians could better doe than they, being a matter in deede most greatly to their advantage. For by their flight they best doe save them selves, and fighting still, they therby shunne the shame of that their flying. The Romanes still defended them selves, and held it out, so long as they had any hope that the Parthians would leave fighting, when they had spent their arrowes, or would joyne battell with them. But after they understoode that there were a great number of camels loden with quivers full of arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quivers: then Crassus seeing no end of their shotte, began to faint, and sent to Publius his sonne, willing him in any case to charge upon the enemies, and to geve an onset, before they were compassed in on every side. For it was on Publius side, that one of the winges of the enemies battell was neerest unto them, and where they rode up and downe to compasse them behinde. Whereuppon Crassus sonne taking thirteene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thowsand were of the men of armes whom Iulius Cæsar sent) and five hundred shot, with eight ensignes of footemen having targets, most neere to the place where him selfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that wheling about they might geve a charge upon them that rode up and downe. But they seeing him comming, turned straight their horse and fled, either bicause they met in a marrisse, or else of purpose to beguile this young Crassus, intising him thereby as farre from his father as they could. Publius Crassus seeing them flye,

The maner of the Parthians fight.

Digitized by Google

cried out, These men will not abide us, and so spurred on for life after them: so did Censorinus and Megabacchus with him (the one a Senatour of Rome a very eloquent man, the other a stowte coragious valliant man of warre) both of them Crassus well approved frendes, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horsemen of the Romanes being trained out thus to the chase, their footemen also would not abide behinde, nor shew them selves to have lesse hope, joy, and corage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chase: till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, sodainly turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set upon them. Whereuppon they stayed, thinking that the enemies perceiving they were so few, would come and fight with them hande to hande. Howbeit they set out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, and made their light horsemen whele rounde about them, keeping non order at all: who galloping up and downe the plaine, whurled up the sand hilles from the bottome with their horse feete, which raised such a wonderfull dust, that the Romanes could scarce see or speake one to an other. For they being shut up into a litle roome, and standing close one to an other, were sore wounded with the Parthians arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them selves apon the sande, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striving by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vaines and sinewes: thereby they opened their woundes wider, and so cast them selves away. Many of them dyed thus miserably martyred: and such as dyed not, were not able to defend them selves. Then when Publius Crassus prayed and besought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horse, they shewed him their handes fast nailed to their targets with arrowes, and their feete likewise shot thorow and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither flie, nor yet defende them selves. Thereupon him selfe incoraging

The praise of Censorinus and Megabacchus.

The miserable fight of the Romanes against the Parthians.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS his horsemen, went and gave a charge, and did valliantly set uppon thenemies, but it was with too great disadvantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For him selfe and his men with weake and light staves, brake apon them that were armed with curaces of steele, or stiffe leather jackes. And the Parthians in contrary manner with mightie strong pykes gave charge apon these Gaules, which were either unarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom Crassus most trusted, having done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they received the Parthians pykes in their handes, and tooke them about the middells, and threw them of their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not sturre for the weight of their harnesse: and there were divers of them also that lighting from their horse, lay under their enemies horse bellies, and thrust their swordes into them. Their horse flinging and bounding in the ayer for very paine threw their maisters under feete, and their enemies one apon an other, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extreame heate and thirst did marvelously comber the Gaules, who were used to abide neither of both: and the most parte of their horse were slaine, charging with al their power apon the men at armes of the Parthians, and so ranne them selves in apon the pointes of their pikes. At the length, they were driven to retyre towardes their footemen, and Publius Crassus among them, who was very ill by reason of the woundes he had received. And seeing a sand hill by chaunce not farre from them, they went thither, and setting their horse in the middest of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to cover and defende them selves the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they founde it contrary. For the contry being plaine, they in the formest ranckes did somewhat cover them behinde, but they that were behinde, standing hier than they that stoode formest (by reason of the nature of the hill that was hiest in the middest) could by no meanes save them selves, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miserie and misfortune, that must needes dye without revenge, or declaration of their valliancy. At that present time there were two Græcians about Publius Crassus,

Digitized by Google

Hieronymus, and Nicomachus, who dwelt in those quarters, in the city of Carres: they both counselled P. Crassus to steale away with them, and to flie to a city called Ischnes, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the Romanes parte. But P. aunswered them, that there was no death so cruell as could make him forsake them, that dyed for his sake. When he had so sayd, wishing them to save them selves, he embraced them, and tooke his leave of them: and being very sore hurt with the shot of an arrow through one of his handes, commaunded one of his gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, and so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported Censorinus did the like. But Megabacchus slue him selfe with his owne handes, and so did the most parte of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left alive, the Parthians got up the sand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their speares and pykes, and tooke but five hundred prisoners. After that, they strake of Publius Crassus head, and therupon returned straight to set apon his father Crassus, who was then in this state. Crassus the father, after he had willed his sonne to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and pursued the chase: and perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not prease apon him so neere as they did before, bicause that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue: he then began to be lively againe, and keeping his men close, retyred with them the best he could by a hills side, looking ever that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chase. But Publius seeing him selfe in daunger, had sent divers messengers to his father, to advertise him of his distresse, whom the Parthians intercepted and slue by the way: and the last messengers he sent, scaping very hardly, brought Crassus newes, that his sonne was but cast away, if he did not presently aide him, and that with a great power. These newes were grievous to Crassus in two respectes: first for the feare he had, seeing him selfe in daunger to lose all: and secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought,

Carres a city of Mesopotamia.

Ischnes, a citie.

The death of Publius Crassus.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

and in fine determined to goe with all his power, to the reskue of his sonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his sonnes overthrow, with a more dredfull noyse and crie of victorie, than ever before: and thereupon their deadly sounding drommes filled the ayer with their wonderful noise. The Romanes then looked straight for a hot allarme. But the Parthians that brought Publius Crassus head apon the point of a launce, comming neere to the Romanes, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parentes: for it is not likely (sayd they) that so noble and valliant a young man, should be the sonne of so cowardly a father, as Crassus. The sight of Publius Crassus head killed the Romanes hartes more, than any other daunger they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hartes a fire as it should have done, with anger, and desire of revenge: but farre otherwise, made them quake for feare, and strooke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet Crassus selfe shewed greater corage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by every band he cried out alowde: 'The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) 'is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble successe 'and honor of Rome remaineth stil unvincible, so long as 'you are yet living. Nowe, if you pitie my losse of so noble 'and valliant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me intreate 'you to turne your sorrow into fury: make them deerely 'buy the joy, they have gotten: be revenged of their cruelty, 'and let not my misfortune feare you. For why: aspiring 'mindes sometime must needes susteine losse. Lucullus 'overcame not Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, but their 'blood did pay for it. Our auncesters in olde time lost a 'thowsande shippes, yea in Italie divers armies and chief-'taines for the conquest of Sicilia: yet for all the losse of 'them, at the length they were victorious over them, by 'whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of 'Rome came not to that greatnes it now is at, by good 'fortune onely, but by pacience and constant suffering of 'trouble and adversitie, never yeeldinge or geving place to

Crassus oration to his souldiers when his hart was full of sorrow.

Digitized by Google

'any daunger.' Crassus using these perswasions to encorage his souldiers for resolution, founde that all his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commaunded them to geve the showte of battell, he plainely sawe their hartes were done, for that their showte rose but faint, and not all alike. The Parthians on the other side, their showte was great, and lustely they range it out. Now when they came to joyne, the Parthians archers a horsebacke compassing in the Romanes apon the winges, shot an infinite number of arrowes at their sides. But their men at armes geving charge apon the front of the Romanes battel with their great launces, compelled them to draw into a narrow rome, a few excepted, that valliantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring so to dye, than to be slaine with their arrowes, where they could do the Parthians almost no hurt at all. So were they sone dispatcht, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wodde and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retyre, saying they would geve Crassus that nightes respit, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death: onlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer him selfe to king Arsaces mercy, then to tary to be brought unto him by force. So the Parthians camping hard by the Romanes, were in very good hope to overthrow him the next morning. The Romanes on the other side had a marvelous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men, that dyed in miserable paine: but every man bewayled his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they taried till the morning. On the other side, to departe in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieve them much. Bicause, to carie them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leave them so behinde, their pitiefull cries would geve the enemies knowledge of their departure. Nowe, though they all thought Crassus the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But Crassus went a side without light, and layed him downe with

CRASSUS

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

Crassus an example of fortunes inconstancie.

his head covered, bicause he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sorte an example of unstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the frutes of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaunde so many thowsandes of men, but thought (as a man would say) him selfe the meanest of all other, and one that possest nothing, bicause he was accompted inferior unto two persones only, Pompey, and Cæsar. Notwithstanding, Octavius, one of his chieftaines, and Cassius the treasorer, made him rise, and sought to comforte him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so overcome with sorrow, and out of hart, that he had no life nor spirit in him: they them selves called the Captaines and Centurions together, and sate in counsell for their departure, and so agreed that there was no lenger tarying for them. Thus of their owne authoritie at the first they made the army marche away, without any sound of trompet or other noyse. But immediatly after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the campe remove, fell a crying out and tormenting them selves in such sorte, that they filled the whole campe with sorrow, and put them out of all order, with the great mone and lowde lamentation: so as the formest ranke that first dislodged, fell into a marvelous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and set apon them. Then turning oft, and setting them selves in battell raye, one while loding their beastes with the wounded men, an other while unloding them againe, they were left behinde, saving three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the city of Carres. Ignatius their Captaine called to the watche on the walles, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who aunswering, he willed them to tell Coponius, Governor of the towne, that Crassus had fought a great battell with the Parthians, and sayd no more, neither told what he was: but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which Crassus had made over Euphrates. Yet this word Ignatius gave to the watch to tell Coponius, served Crassus turne very well. For Coponius thought by this great hast of his, and the shorte confused speeche he made, passing on his way, that

Crassus flying.

Coponius Governor of Carres in Mesopotamia.

Digitized by Google

he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his souldiers, and understanding that Crassus was returning backe, went to mete him, and brought him and his army into the city of Carres. The Parthians knew well enough of the removing of the Romanes campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, slue all that were left behinde, which were about foure thowsande men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many stragglers in the plaine. Among them there was Barguntinus, one of Crassus Lieutenauntes, who strayed in the night out of the army with foure whole ensignes, and having lost his way, gotte to a hill, where the Parthians besieged him, slue him and all his company, though he valliantly there defended him selfe: yet twenty of them only escaped, who with their swordes drawen in their handes, running forward with their heades, thrust in among the thickest of the Parthians: They wondering at their desperation, opened of them selves, and suffered them to march on towards the city of Carres. In the meane time false newes was brought to Surena, how Crassus with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, and that the great number that were received into the city of Carres were men of all sortes gathered together, and not a man of any quality or estimacion. Surena thereupon thinking he had lost the honor of his victorie, yet standing in some doubt of it, bicause he would knowe the troth, that he might either besiege the citie of Carres, or pursue after Crassus: sent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, charging him to call for Crassus, or Cassius, and to tell them that Surena would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to Crassus, and he accepted parlance. Shortly after also, thither came certaine souldiers of the Arabians from the campe of the Parthians, who knew Crassus and Cassius very well by sight, having divers times seene them in their campe before the battell. These Arabians seeing Cassius apon the walles, told him, that Surena was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe safely, as his masters good frendes, so that they would surrender Mesopotamia into the king of

CRASSUS

The valliantnes of twentie Romanes.

A stratageame of Surena.

Digitized by Google

Parthiaes handes, and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather than to be enforced unto it by extremitie. Cassius thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where Crassus and Surena should mete to talke together of the matter. The Arabians made aunswere they would doe it: and so departed. Surena hearing this, was glad he had them at such advantage, where he might besiege them. The next day he brought all his armie before the city of Carres. There the Parthians marvelously reviled the Romanes, and told them, they must deliver them Crassus and Cassius bound handes and feete, if they would have any grace or peace with them. The Romanes were marvelously offended that they were thus deceived, and told Crassus, that it was no boote any lenger to looke for aide of the Armenians, but presently to flie: howbeit to keepe it secret in any wise from any of the Carrenians, till the very houre of their departure. Yet Crassus selfe had told it to Andromachus, the veriest traitor and villen in all the city, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor Andromachus advertised the enemies in every pointe, of their purpose and departure. But bicause the Parthians do never use to fight in the night, and that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that Crassus departed in the night time: Andromachus was afrayed least the Romanes would winne such ground before the Parthians, as they could not possibly overtake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he somtime brought them one way, other while an other way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marisse, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the armie began to mistrust, that Andromachus ment no good to turne and tosse them up and downe in that sorte, and therefore would follow him no more: insomuch as Cassius among others, returned towardes the citie of Carres againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were Arabians) counselled him to tary there, till the moone were out of the signe of Scorpio, he aunswered them: I feare the signe of Sagittarie more.

Andromachus treason to Crassus.

The Parthians do never fight by night.

Cassius gentle aunswere in the straightes.

Digitized by Google

So as soone as he could, he tooke his way towardes Assyria with five hundred horsemen. And other of the armie also having faithfull guides, recovered a contry of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retyred into a safe place before the breake of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom Octavius a noble man had in charge. But the day stale apon Crassus, hunting up and downe yet in the marrisse, in those ill favored places, into the which Andromachus that traitor had of purpose brought him, having with him foure ensignes of footemen all with targets, and very few horsemen, and five sergeauntes that caried the axes and roddes before him: with whome, with much a doe and great labor, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost apon him, and that he was within twelve furlong of joyning with Octavius. There in hast he had gotten a hill, which was not so steepe for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hilles were, called Sinnaces, yet under them, and joyning to them by a long hill that runneth alongest the plaine, so as Octavius plainly saw the daunger Crassus was in. Thereupon he first ran downe the hilles with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were cowards if they should tary behinde. At their comming they gave such a hot onset apon the Parthians, that they made them geve backe from that hill: and compassing Crassus in the middest of them, covering him rounde with their targets, they spake nobly, that never arrow of the Parthians should touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were slaine one after an other, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon Surena perceiving the Parthians were not so coragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came upon them, and that the Romanes did once recover the hie mountaines, they could never possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile Crassus once more by this devise. He let certaine prisoners goe of purpose, before whom he made his men geve out this speeche. That the king of Parthia would have no mortall warre with the Romanes: but farre otherwise, he rather desired their frendshippe, by shewing them some notable favor, as to use Crassus very curteously. And to

CRASSUS

The worthines of the Romane souldiers to their chiefetaine.

An other stratageame of Surena.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS geve colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going him selfe in person towardes Crassus, with the chiefest of the nobility of his host, in quiet maner, his bow unbent: he held out his right hand, and called Crassus to talke with him of peace, and sayd unto him: Though the Romanes had felt the force and power of their king, it was against his will, for he could do no lesse but defend him selfe: howbeit that now he was very willing and desirous to make them tast of his mercie and clemency, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe safely where they would. All the Romanes besides Crassus were glad of Surenaes wordes. But Crassus that had bene deceived before by their crafty fetches and devises, considering also no cause apparant to make them chaunge thus sodainly: would not harken to it, but first consulted with his frends. Howbeit the souldiers they cried out on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, saying: that he cared not though they were all slaine, and that him selfe had not the hart onely to come downe and talke with the enemies that were unarmed. Crassus proved first to pacifie them by fayer meanes, perswading them to beare a litle pacience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might safely departe at their pleasure, and recover the mountaines and straight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint harted, nor to dispaire of their safety, seeing they were so neere it. But in the ende Crassus perceiving they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming backe a litle, sayd onely these wordes: 'O Octavius, and you Petronius, with 'all you Romane gentlemen that have charge in this armie: 'you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go 'to the place I would not, and can witnes with me, how I 'am driven with shame and force. Yet I pray you if your 'fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report 'wheresoever you come, that Crassus was slaine, not de-'livered up by his one souldiers into the handes of the bar-'barous people, as I am: but deceived by the frawde and

Surenaes crafty speeche to Crassus.

Crassus words to the Romanes going to his death.

Digitized by Google

'suttiltie of his enemies.' Octavius would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with Crassus: but Crassus sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the Parthians unto Crassus were two mongrel Græcians who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to sende some of his men before, and Surena would shewe them, that both him selfe and his trayne came unarmed towardes him. Crassus thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any accompt of his life, he would not have put him selfe into their handes. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the Roscians, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to Surena, but they were stayed: and him selfe in the meane time kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his army. Now when Surena came neere to Crassus: Why, how now (quod he) what meaneth this? a Consull and Lieutenaunte generall of Rome a foote, and we a horse backe? Therewithall he straight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. Crassus aunswered Surena againe: In that, they neither of both offended, following the use and maner of their contry, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. Surena replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed apon betwene the king Hyrodes, and the Romanes: howbeit that they were to goe to the river, and there to set downe the articles in wryting. For you Romanes, sayd he, doe not greatly remember the capitulacions you have agreed apon. With those wordes he gave him his right hand. As Crassus was sending for a horse: You shall not neede, sayd Surena, for looke, the kinge doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele saddle richly gilt, apon the which his gentlemen mounted Crassus immediatly, and following him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. Octavius seeing that, first layed hand on the bridle, then Petronius Colonell of a thowsand footemen: and after them, all the rest of the Romanes also gathered about Crassus to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at an other at

Surenaes craft to Crassus.

Digitized by Google

CRASSUS

the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then Octavius drew out his sword, and slue one of the barbarous noble mens horsekeepers: and an other came behinde him, and slue Octavius. Petronius had no target, and receiving a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurte: and on the other side came Pomaxathres, one of the Parthians, and slue Crassus. Some say notwithstanding, that Pomaxathres slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut of his heade and his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reportes are rather conjectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for Crassus, and other saved them selves by flying to the hill. The Parthians followed them, and tolde them that Crassus had payed the paine he had deserved: and for the rest, that Surena bad them come downe with safetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed them selves when night came, and of them very few scaped with life. Other being followed and pursued by the Arabians were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slaine in this overthrow, about twentie thowsand men, and tenne thowsande taken prisoners. Surena had now sent Crassus head and his hand unto Hyrodes, the king his master, into Armenia: and gave out a brute as farre as the citie of Seleucia, that he brought Crassus alive, and that he had prepared a sight to laugh at, which he called his triumphe. Among the Romane prisoners there was one called Caius Pacianus, who was very like Crassus: him they clothed in womans apparell of the Parthians, and had taught him to aunswere, when any called him Crassus, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horsebacke, and had many trompets before him, and sergeauntes apon camells backes, that caried axes before them, and bundells of roddes, and many purses tyed to the bundells of roddes, and Romanes heades newly cut of, tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the strumpets and women minstrells of Seleucia, who went singing of songes of mockery and derision, of Crassus womanish cowardlines. Now for these open showes, every one might see them: but besides that sight, Surena having called the Senate of Seleucia together, layed before them

Octavius slaine.

Crassus slaine.

The number of the Romanes that were slaine and taken.

Surenaes triumphe of Crassus.

Digitized by Google

Aristides bookes of ribaldrie, intituled *The Milesians*, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romanes fardell or trusse, called Rustius. This gave Surena great cause to scorne and despise the behaviour of the Romanes, which was so farre out of order, that even in the warres they could not refraine from doing evill, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senatours of Seleucia found that Æsope was a wise man, who sayd, that every man caried a sacke on his necke, and that they put other mens faultes at the sackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the sacke. When they considered that Surena had put the booke of the lasciviousnes of the Milesians at the sackes mouth, and a long tayle of the Parthians vaine pleasures and delightes in the bottome of the sacke, carying such a number of cartes loden with naughtie packes in his army as he did, which seemed an army of ermites and fielde myse. For in the voward and foremest ranckes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pykes, bowes, and horse: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, instruments of musicke, daunsing, singing, bancketing, and ryoting all night with Curtisans. I will not deny but Rustius deserved blame: but yet withall, I say, that the Parthians were shamelesse to reprove these bookes of the vanities of the Milesians, considering that many of their kinges, and of the royal blood of the Arsacides, were borne of the Ionian and Milesian curtisans. Things passing thus in this sorte, king Hyrodes had made peace and league with Artabazes king of Armenia, who gave his sister in mariage unto Pacorus, king Hyrodes sonne, and made great feastes one to an other: in the which were many Greeke verses song, Hyrodes selfe understanding well the Greeke tongue, and Artabazes was so perfit in it, that he him selfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night Crassus head was brought, the tables being all taken up, Iason a common player of enterludes (borne in the city of Tralles) came before the kinges, and recited a place of the tragedy of the *Bacchantes* of Euripides, telling of the misfortune of Agave, who strake of his sonnes heade. And

Aristides bookes intituled *The Milesians*.

Æsops wise saying.

The description of Surenaes army.

Crassus head brought to Hyrodes.

Digitized by Google

as every man tooke great pleasure to heare him, Sillaces comming into the halle, after his humble duty first done to the king, delivered him Crassus head before them all. The Parthians seeing that, fell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcrie of joy. The gentlemen hushers by the kinges commaundement, did set Sillaces at the table. Iason casting of his apparell representing Pentheus person, gave it to an other player to put on him, and counterfeating the Bacchantes possest with furie, beganne to rehearse these verses, with a jeasture, tune, and voyce, of a man madde, and beside him selfe:

> Behold, we from the forest bring a stag now newly slaine,
> A worthy booty and reward beseeming well our paine.

This marvelously pleased the companie: and specially singinge these verses afterwardes, where the Chorus both asked, and aunswered him selfe:

> Who strake this stag?
> None else but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose straight, and went and tooke the head him selfe, to whome of right it belonged to say those wordes, and not unto the player that spake them. King Hyrodes liked this sporte marvelously, and rewarded Pomaxathres according to the maner of the contrie in such a case: and to Iason he also gave a talent. Such was the successe of Crassus enterprise and voyage, much like unto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, Hyrodes cruelty, and Surenaes fowle perjury and craft, were in the end justly revenged apon them both, according to their desertes. For king Hyrodes envying Surenaes glorie, put Surena to death. And Hyrodes fell into a disease that became a dropsy, after he had lost his sonne Pacorus, who was slaine in a battel by the Romanes. Phraates his second sonne, thinking to set his father forwardes, gave him drinke of the juice of Aconitum. The dropsie received the poison, and one drave the other out of Hyrodes bodie, and set him a foote againe. Phraates perceiving his father to amende apon it, to make shorte worke, with his owne handes strangled him.

See the reward of craft and perjury.

The miserable ende of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes strangled by his sonne.

Digitized by Google

THE COMPARISON OF CRASSUS WITH NICIAS

UT nowe to proceede to the comparison: first, Nicias goodes were more justely gotten, and with lesse reproach, than Crassus wealth: for otherwise a man can not geve any great praise to minerall workes, the which are wrought by lewde and ill disposed barbarous fellowes kept in irons, and toyled to death in unholsome and pestilent places. But being compared unto Crassus buying of confiscate goodes at Syllaes handes, and ungentlemanly bargaines of houses a fire, or in daunger thereof: surely Nicias trade will appeare the better way of gettinge. For as openly did Crassus avow usery, as tillage. And againe for other faultes, wherewith Crassus many times was burdened, and which he stowtly denied: as, that he tooke money of men having matters before the Senate at Rome, to winne favor for their side: and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the Romanes, only for his private profit: and therefore curried favor with Ladies, and generally sought to cloke all fowle offenders: of all these faultes, was Nicias never so much as once suspected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of every bodie, bicause for feare he maintained wicked doers by giftes: which perhappes would not have becommed Pericles, nor Aristides, and yet was mete for Nicias, who was borne a timerous natured man, and never had corage in him. Whereof Lycurgus the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractours with money: I am glad, sayd he, that having delt thus long in affayers of the state, it is found I have rather geven than taken. And now touching expences: Nicias was thought the better and more civill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some

Nicias and Crassus richesse.

Lycurgus saying.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS AND CRASSUS

goodly image to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small parte of that Crassus bestowed in an open feast he made at Rome: feasting so many thowsandes at one time, and did finde and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I can not but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of maners, repugnant in it selfe, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goodes. For Nicias doinges in the common weale, he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor unjustly, neither any thing of selfe will or stomake, but rather delt plainly and simply. For he was deceived by trusting of Alcibiades, and never came to speake before the people, but with great feare. Crassus, on thother side was reproved for his unconstancie and lightnes, for that he would easily chaunge frendes or enemies: and he him selfe denied not, that he came to be Consull the seconde time by plaine force and cruelty, having hiered two murderers to kill Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly the people held for deviding of the provinces, many men were hurte, and foure were slaine in the market place: and more then that, Crassus him selfe (which we have forgotten to wryte in his life) gave one Lucius Annalius so sore a blow on the face with his fist, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his eares. But as Crassus in those thinges was very fierce and cruell: so Nicias womanish behavior on thother side, and faint hart in matters of the common wealth, humbling him selfe to the meanest and most vile persones, deserveth great reproache. Where Crassus in this respect shewed himselfe assuredly of a noble minde, not contending with men of small accompt, as with Cleon, or Hyperbolus, but would geve no place to Cæsars fame and glory, nor yet to Pompeyes three triumphes, but sought to goe even with them in power and authority: and had immediatly before exceeded Pompeyes power, in the dignity of Censor. For Magistrates, and Governors of the common weale, should make them selves to be honored, but not envied, killing

Nicias and Crassus actes in the common wealth.

The duetie of Governors and Magistrates.

Digitized by Google

envy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were so that Nicias preferred quietnes, and the safety of his persone above all things else, and that he feared Alcibiades in the pulpit for orations, the Lacedæmonians in the forte of Pyle, and Perdiccas in Thracia: he had liberty and scope enough to repose him selfe in the city of Athens, and might have forborne the dealing in matters, and (as Rhethoricians say) have put a hoode of quietnes apon his heade very well. For doutlesse, concerninge his desire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did, appeasing all warre: wherein Crassus certainely was not to be compared to him, though he had joyned all the provinces to the Empire of Rome, that reach unto the Caspian sea, and to the great Occean of the Indians. But on the other side also, when one hath to deale with people that can discerne when a man ruleth according to equity and justice, and that he seeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he must not then for lacke of corage suffer wicked men to steppe in his roome, nor geve occasion to preferre such to authoritie in the common weale, as are unworthie for that place and countenaunce: neither should allowe such any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as Nicias did: who was the only occasion that Cleon, being before but a pratling Orator, was chosen Generall. Neither doe I also commend Crassus, for that in the warre against Spartacus, he made hast to geve him battell, more rashely then safely or considerately. For his ambition spurred him forwarde, bicause he was afrayed least Pompeyes comming should take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that warre: as Mummius tooke from Metellus thonor of the winning of Corinthe. But besides all this, Nicias fact therein was without the compasse of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not resigne his honor and office of Generall to Cleon his enemy, when there was hope of good successe, or litle perill: but fearing the daunger of the jorney, he was contented to save one, and tooke no care besides for the common wealth. Which Themistocles shewed not, in the time of the warre against the Persians. For he, to keepe Epicydes an Orator

Nicias feare-fulnes.

Digitized by Google

NICIAS AND CRASSUS

(a man of no reckoning beside his eloquence, and extreamely covetous) from being chosen Generall of Athens, least he should have overthrowen the common weale: secretly bribed him with money to leave of his sute. And Cato also, when he saw the state of Rome in greatest daunger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the common wealthes sake. And Nicias in contrary maner, reserving him selfe to make warre with the city of Minoa, or with the Ile of Cythera, or with the poore unfortunate Melians: if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the Lacedæmonians, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the shippes, the armie, and munition to the charge and government of Cleons rashnes and small experience of warre, when the necessitie of the service required the wisest and most expert Captaine. The which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing backe, at time of neede, to defend his contrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled against his will to be Generall, to make warres in Sicilia with the Syracusans: bicause the people thought he was not so earnest to disswade the jorney, for that he thought it not meete for the common wealth, but bicause through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his contrie lose so good an oportunity to conquer Sicile. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he ever hated warre, and did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the common wealth, his contriemen notwithstanding did alwayes choose him, as the most experienced persone, and meetest man of the citie. Now Crassus in contrarie maner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could never attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of an other: (for Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authoritie. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frendes that loved him best, thought him (as the comicall Poet sayth)

Themistocles and Catoes vertue.

Nicias honestie.

A good man any way else, but in warres.

His ambition notwithstanding and covetous desire of rule,

Digitized by Google

NICIAS AND CRASSUS

The diversitie betwext Nicias and Crassus.

did nothing benefit the Romanes. For the Athenians sent Nicias to the warre against his will: but Crassus led the Romanes thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miserie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise Nicias, than to blame Crassus. For Nicias like a wise man, and a Captaine of great experience, could never so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer Sicile: and therfore disswaded his contrymen from the jorney, and would geve no place to the vaine hope of the people of Athens. But Crassus taking apon him to make warres with the Parthians, as though it had bene an easie matter to overcome them, found him selfe deceived, yet did he aspire to great thinges. For as Iulius Cæsar had conquered and subdued to the Imperiall crowne of Rome, all the contries of the West partes, to say, the Gaules, the Germaines, and Englande: even so did Crassus desire to goe towardes the East partes, to conquer all to the great west sea of the Indians, and to subdue all the regions of Asia, whereunto Pompey and Lucullus aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as ever curteously behaved them selves to all men: notwithstanding, provoked thereunto with the like desire that Crassus had. For when the charge of the warres in the East partes was assigned to Pompey, by decree and order of the people: the Senate utterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When newes were brought to Rome that Iulius Cæsar in battell had overthrowen and slaine three hundred thowsand Germaines: Cato perswading with the Senate, was yet stil of this minde, that Cæsar should be delivered into the handes of his enemies whom he had overcomen, for to be punished: thereby to turne the sharpe revenge and wrathe of the goddes from Rome, apon him only, that was the unjust breaker of the peace. This notwithstanding, the people making none account of Catoes perswasions, made common feastes and processions fifteene dayes together, and open sacrifices to the goddes with great joy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victory. How glad may we thinke would they have bene, and howe many dayes would

Digitized by Google

NICIAS AND CRASSUS

they have feasted and sacrificed, if Crassus had wrytten from Babylon of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the Medes, of the Persians, of the Hyrcanians, of Suse, and of the Bactrians, and that he had made new governments and provinces to the Empire of Rome?

If a man will needes doe wrong and injustice,

as Euripides sayth to them, that can not live in peace, and be contented with their owne: he must not then sticke at trifles, (as rasing of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of Menda, or chasing of the Æginetes being out of their owne naturall contrie, and hiding them selves like birdes without neastes, in an other birdes hole) but must dearely sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne justice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of Alexander the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and doe dispraise Crassus voyage: doe not well to judge of the beginning, by the eventes and successe of the end. For executing of their offices, Nicias did many noble exploytes. For he overthrew his enemies in divers battells, and had almost taken the citie of Syracusa: and sure they can not justely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of Sicilia, but partely the plague was a cause of it, and partely also the envie of those towardes him that remained at Athens. Where as Crassus ranne into so many errors, and committed such foule partes in all his voyage, that he gave fortune no leasure to do him good: so that I wonder not so much that his folly was overcome by the power of the Parthians, as that it could overcome the good fortune of the Romanes. Sithens it so falleth out then, that they both came to like unfortunate end, Nicias prognosticating before what thinges should happen by arte and rule of divination, and Crassus contrarily disdaining to observe any thing: sure it falleth out hard in judgement, which of them two proceeded with most safety. Yet according to the best approved opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excusable, then of rashnes and folly to breake any auncient law or custome. For their deathes, Crassus end deserved least reproache. For he against his will did yeelde

Nicias actes commended.

Crassus by his folly, bleamished the happines of the Romanes.

Crassus death more commendable then Nicias end.

Digitized by Google

him selfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but only perswaded by his frendes, and through his enemies frawde and treason most traiterously deceived: where Nicias, cowardly, and dishonorably hoping to save his life, trusting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

THE LIFE OF SERTORIUS

PERADVENTURE it is not to be marvelled at, if in long proces of time (fortune altering her effectes dayly) these worldly eventes fall often out one like an other. For whether it be that the variety of thinges are infinite, fortune hath store of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or be it that worldly matters be comprehended within determinate number: of necessitie one thing must fall out like an other, since they proceede from one cause, tyed to the same meanes it before did use. But bicause men doe delight to compare such chaunces together, as they have seene or heard to have happened so like, as if they had bene done of purpose, thone by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named Attis, both of them commen of noble houses, thone in Syria, and the other in Arcadia, both the one and the other were slaine with a wild bore. That of two called Actæon, the one was torne a peeces by his dogges, the other by his lovers. That of the two famous Scipioes, the Carthaginians were first overcomen by the one, and afterwards utterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of Troye was first taken by Hercules, for the horses that Laomedon had promised him: the seconde time by Agamemnon, by meanes of the great wodden horse: and the third time by Charidemus, by meanes of a horse that fell within the gate, and kept the Troyans that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes,

Why chaunces of necessitie happen one like an other.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

The townes where Homer was borne and dyed.

Foure famous Captaines, that had but one eye a peece.

The praise of Sertorius.

Ios, and Smyrna, two cities were named, the one signifying the Violet, and the other Myrre: it is supposed that the Poet Homer was borne in the one, and that he dyed in the other) we may also adde to this example, that amongest the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriers, and that have done the noblest exploytes by wit and warlike stratageames, had but one eye: as Philip, Antigonus, Hanniball, and Sertorius also, whom we wryte of at this present. Whom we may truely reporte to have bene more chast, than Philip: more faithfull to his frend than Antigonus: more curteous to his enemies than Hanniball: and for wisdom and judgement to geve place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was equall with Metellus, in prowes and valliancie with Pompey, and in fortune with Sylla. So that being banished his contrie, a straunger in an other realme, and having to governe a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained warres for a time, against the power of the Romanes. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the Græcian Captaines I can liken none so well unto him, as Eumenes the Cardian. For both of them knew how to commaund, both were very valliant and politicke in warres, both were banished men out of their contry, both were Captaines over straungers, and both of them were traiterously and villanously slaine by them, through whom they had before overcomen their enemies. Now for Sertorius, he came of worshipfull parentes, and was borne in the citie of Nursia in the contrie of the Sabines. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him up, and whom he singularly loved and reverenced. Her name as they say was Rhea. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: insomuch as being a young man he came to Rome, and wanne some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honor and estimation he achieved afterwardes by his valliant actes, made him imploy all his studie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the Cimbres and Teutons invaded Gaule with a mighty army: where, when

The parentage of Sertorius.

Rhea the mother of Sertorius.

Sertorius eloquent.

Sertorius first souldierfare.

Digitized by Google

the Romanes had bene overcome under the leading of Cæpio, his horse being slaine under him, and him selfe hurt, he notwithstanding swame over the river of Rone, with his corselet, and target apon him, breaking the fury and rage of the river with meere strength, so able and lustie a bodie he had to brooke all paines and hardnes. The second time that these barbarous Cimbres returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with prowde and dreadfull threates, the Romanes were then so afrayed, that they thought him a stowte man that had but the corage to kepe his rancke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was Marius Generall of the Romane armie, and then did Sertorius undertake to goe and discover thenemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled him selfe like a Gaule, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language, to salute one an other when they met, and in this sorte went among them: and having partly by sight and reporte learned that he sought for, he returned to Marius, who then gave him such honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did such valliant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon, the warres being ended with the Teutons and Cimbres, Sertorius was sent into Spayne, under Didius the Prætor, with charge of a thowsand footemen, with whom he wintered in the citie of Castulo, in the marches of the Celtiberians: where the souldiers finding plentie of vittells, fell to gluttonie and dronckennes, and committed great insolencie, being overcome with wine. Insomuch as the barbarous people of the citie grew to such a misliking and disdaine of them, that they sent one night to their nexte neighbours the Gyrisænians for aide, and as they came by the Romanes lodgings, slue a great number of them. Sertorius hearing the noyse, went immediatly out of the citie with a few of his men, and gathering them together also that fled one after an other to save them selves, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open where the Gyrisænians came in, there entred he also: who being more carefull than they had shewed them selves, left the gates, and all the partes of the citie well garded, and then put all to the

SERTORIUS

Sertorius souldierfare under Marius.

Sertorius, Colonell of a thowsande footemen.

Castulo, a city of the Celtiberians.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

sword within that were of age to carie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this revenge, he commaunded all his souldiers to leave of their owne apparell and weapons, and to take these of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the city of the Gyrissenians, from whence they came that had on such a sodaine assailed them in the night. The Gyrissenians seeing the garmentes and weapons of their supposed men farre of, thinking certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their frendes and citizens, whome they thought had happely sped of their purpose. Thus were a marvelous number of them slaine by the Romanes, even hard at the gates of their citie: and the rest putting them selves to Sertorius mercy, he solde for slaves. After this exployt, Sertorius wanne great fame through all Spayne, and returning to Rome, was made Questor or Treasorer generall of Gaule, on this side of the mountaines, by the river of Po. A happy chaunce for Rome: for even at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of Italie, called the Marsians warre, in the which he had commission to prest souldiers, and to make armor. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition for quicke dispatche of that service, in respect of the longe delay and carelesse regard other young men had of the same before: that he wan the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwardes would atchieve great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine him selfe, he would not let to venter his persone as valliantly, as any other private souldier whatsoever, but did marvelous actes with his owne handes, even in greatest perills and conflictes: insomuch as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, sayd he, doe not alwayes cary the markes about them of their valliant service, but leave them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, javelinges, and crownes, geven them by their Captaines for testimony of their valliancy: howbeit that he alwayes caried the markes about him (wheresoever he went) of his service, so that such as saw the blemish of his eye, did therewithall witnes his

Sertorius stratageame.

Sertorius, treasorer Generall of Gaule, about the Po. Padus fl.

Sertorius lost one of his eyes by fight.

Digitized by Google

valliantnes and corage. The people also did honor him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their handes, and great praises, which the Romanes did scantly use unto their oldest Captaines, and which were most honored for their great and noble service. Neverthelesse, when he sued to be Tribune, he was rejected by Syllaes practise who hindered him: whereupon grew as it seemeth, that grudge and malice which he ever after bare unto Sylla. For after that Marius was fled being overcomen by Sylla, and that Sylla was gone out of Italie to make warre with Mithridates, and that of the two Consulls, Octavius tooke parte with Sylla, and Cinna thother Consull (which sought chaunge and alteration) was gathering men together to set up Marius faction, that was in manner under foote: Sertorius tooke his parte, bicause he saw that Octavius was but a slow and lither man, and did not besides trust any of Marius frendes. So was there a cruell conflict betwene them, even in the market place within the city selfe, where Octavius had the upper hand: And Cinna and Sertorius scaped by flying, having lost few lesse then ten thowsand men in this only overthrowe. Neverthelesse, afterwardes through practise and policy, they got those souldiers together againe that were dispersed here and there through Italie, so as in shorte time they made their power equall with Octavius force. Marius also being advertised of the same, tooke the sea incontinently, and returned into Italie out of Africke, and came to Cinna to serve as a private souldier, under his Captaine and Consull. Now they all liked well that Marius should be received, saving Sertorius, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, Cinna having a worthier Captaine then him selfe to serve him, or else that Marius cruelty and severity (who pardoned none offence) would marre all together, having no stay in his anger, but bent utterly to all kinde of cruelty to his enemies, if Cinna fortuned to have the victorie. And thereunto he added this further: that nowe they had the victory in maner in their hands, if they once received Marius unto them, he would robbe them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being

SERTORIUS

The occasion of Sertorius malice unto Sylla.

Sertorius tooke parte with Cinna.

Sertorius dissuaded Cinna to receive Marius.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS also in authority, he was neither to be trusted, nor commaunded. Whereunto Cinna aunswered thus: that he thought the words he had alleaged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed, and besides, could not see with honesty how he might refuse Marius, or send him backe, sithens he had purposely sent for him, to commit parte of the charge of these warres unto him. Sertorius againe replied: Sure I thought Marius had come of his owne good will unsent for, and therfore (as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gave advise not to receive him: but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now comen upon your commaundement, you were much to blame to aske counsell whether you should now receive him or not. And therefore you must needes accept his service, that is comen apon your worde: for, the bonde of your promes past you, doth now cut of all counsell or other resolution. Thereupon Marius was called for: and when he came, they devided their whole army into three partes, and then beganne to charge apon their enemies of all handes, so as they obteined victorie. Howebeit Cinna and Marius committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could possibly be shewed: insomuch as the Romanes thought all the miseries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Nowe Sertorius on thother side never caused man to be slaine for any private malice or quarrell he had with any person, neither did he hurte any man when he had overcomen, but was much offended with Marius insolency and cruell murders: and when he had good oportunity to speake with Cinna a parte, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perswasion. In fine, Sertorius seeing Marius garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other souldiers in this warre, whom he used as executioners of his slaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his person as a garde, and suffering them also to make them selves riche, partly with that he gave them, or commaunded them to spoyle, and partely also with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne masters, killing them when they had done,

Sertorius temperance.

Digitized by Google

ravishing their mistresses, and defiling their children: he could no lenger abide such wickednes and villany, but made them all to be slaine in their campe where they lay together, being no lesse then foure thowsand persones. Afterwardes, when he saw that the elder Marius was deade, and that soone after Cinna was slaine, the younger Marius his sonne (against his counsell, and contrary to the lawes of Rome) had by force made him selfe Consull: and that Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus (which had bene overcomen by Sylla) were comen out of Græce to Rome wards, partely through the cowardlines of their Captaines, and partely also bicause they were betrayed and solde of their owne men: and further, considering therewithall, that his person could doe no good in those affayers, which waxed worse and worse, by meanes of thauthoritie of such as had least wit and understanding, and specially also seeing Sylla campe hard by Scipio, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilest underhand he wanne his souldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: Sertorius then utterly dispairing of Romes prosperity and wellfare, departed from Rome, to go towardes Spayne, thinking that if he could get the first possession and government of that realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receit for all those of their tribe, that should chaunce to be banished out of their contrie. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and passing through a contry of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to passe through their territories. Thereat the souldiers of his company were marvelously offended, saying: that it were too much shame and dishonor for a Proconsull of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstanding, Sertorius passed not for the shame they sayd it would be to him, but aunswered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should most recken of, that aspireth to haughtie enterprises, and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And thus he made such speede, as he quickely recovered Spayne, which he found greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armor. But now Sertorius perceiving that they

SERTORIUS

Sertorius slue Marius garde of bondmen.

Sertorius went into Spayne.

Digitized by Google

TORIUS had bene hardly delt withall before, through the insolency, pride, and covetousnes of the Romane Governors, whom they ordinarily sent from Rome, and that therefore they hated all manner of government: first of all sought to winne the good willes of all the whole contrymen one and other. Of the noble men, by being familiar and conversaunt with them: and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most love of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of souldiers, and receiving of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set up their tentes, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, and causing also his owne pavillion to be first set up, and lay in it him selfe in persone. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their favor: for he armed all the Romane citizens of age to cary weapon, that dwelt in Spayne, and made them make all sortes of engines for battery, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very curteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After Sertorius understoode that Sylla kept Rome, and that the most parte of the tribe of Marius and Carbo was utterly overthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent Iulius Salinator betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with sixe thowsande men well armed. Immediatly after Caius Annius also came thether, sent by Sylla: who seeing no possibilitie to distresse Salinator in a place of such advantage, was driven to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one Calphurnius surnamed Lanarius, traiterously slue Salinator: whereupon his souldiers foorthwith forsooke the toppe of the mountaines, and by this meanes Annius had easie passage with his army which was very great, and overthrewe them that resisted his further comming on into the contry. Sertorius finding him selfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thowsand men unto the citie of new Carthage, and there tooke sea: from thence he coasted

Sertorius curtesie to the Spanyardes.

Sertorius flieth out of Spayne into Africke.

Digitized by Google

over into Africke, and fell with the coast of the Maurusians, where his souldiers landed immediatly for freshe water, dispersing them selves without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gave a charge apon them, and slue numbers of them: insomuch as Sertorius was driven to imbarke againe, and to take his course towardes Spayne, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driven to take certaine pirates botes of the Cilicians, and to sayle towardes the Ile of Pityusa, where he landed in despite of Annius garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came Annius thither him selfe with a good number of shippes, and five thowsand fighting men in them. Him Sertorius determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sayling, and of no strength for fight. But now the West winde rising very bigge, did swell the sea in such sorte, that it cast the most parte of Sertorius shippes (being weake and very light) apon rockes in the sea, and him selfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the sea by storme was driven to ride ten dayes together at anker, working still for life against the daunger of the surging waves and boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the ende when it calmed againe he waied anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoising saile from thence, he passed the straighte of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed apon the coast of Spayne, lying towardes the great Westerne sea, a litle above the mouth of the river of Bætis, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gave name in olde time to that parte of Spayne, which was called Hispania Bætica. There certaine saylers met with him that were newly arrived from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the auncients called, the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilandes are not farre one from an other, being but a litle arme of the sea betwene them, and are from the coast of Africke only tenne thowsand furlongs. They have raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a litle silver dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring

SERTORIU

The Ile of Pityusa.

The fortunate Ilandes.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

forth all that is set or sowen apon it, but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good frute, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, living idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is fayre and pleasaunt continually, and never hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the ayer never extreame: bicause the windes that blow apon that land from the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North and Easterly winde comming from the maine, what with their longe comming, and then by dispersing them selves into a wonderfull large ayer and great sea, their strength is in maner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moist the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all thinges very trimmely: insomuch as the very barbarous people them selves doe faithfully beleve, that there

The Elysian fieldes.

are the Elysian fieldes, thabode of blessed creatures, which Homer hath so much spoken of. Sertorius hearing reporte of these Ilandes (upon a certaine desire now to live quietly out of tyranny and warres) had straight a marvelous minde to go dwel there. But when the pyrates of Cilicia (who were no men of peace, but geven altogether to spoyle and pillage) heard that: they by and by forsooke Sertorius, and went into Africke, to restore Ascalius the sonne of Iphtha to his realme of Mauritania againe. Sertorius quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against Ascalius, and all to thend that his souldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, should not so leave him, being faced afterwardes to be discharged of very necessity. The Maurusians being very glad of his arrivall, he presently went on with his enterprise, overcame Ascalius in battell, and besieged the citie whereinto apon the overthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. Sylla being advertised thereof, sent Paccianus thither with an army to aide Ascalius. Sertorius gave him

Sertorius wan the citie of Tingis.

battell, slue him in the field, and wan the rest of his army, which yeelded unto him: then tooke he the city of Tingis, whereinto Ascalius was fled with his brethren. The Libyans

Digitized by Google

wryte that Antæus is buried there. But Sertorius geving no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that contrie, by reason of the greatnes of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the body of a man (as they say) of three score cubits long, he marveled at it, and so finishing his sacrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed up againe. By this act hee did greatly increase the honor of Antæus memory, which the city did unto him, and thereby confirmed the contry mens reporte of Antæus. For the Tingians doe reporte, that after Antæus death, his wife Tinga lay with Hercules, and had a goodly sonne by him called Sophax, who was king of that contrie, and there built this city, geving it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is sayd also that this Sophax had a sonne called Diodorus, who conquered the most parte of Africke with an army of the Græcian Olbianians and Mycenians, which Hercules brought thether, to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered us to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of Iuba, the noblest historiographer that ever came of royall blood: for it is thought his auncesters were lineally discended from Sophax and this Diodorus. Sertorius as conquerour now, having the whole contry in subjection, did in no wise hurt them that yeelded unto him, and put trust in him, but restored them their goodes, cities, and government againe, contenting him selfe with that they offered him of their good willes. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine: the Lusitanians sent Ambassadors unto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they stoode in great neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the furie of the Romanes: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behaviour by them that were conversaunt with him. Whose qualities as we finde wrytten, were these. He was never greatly moved, with feare nor joy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most daunger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valliantnes inferior to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in every imminent daunger. For where any

SERTORIUS

Antæus tombe and greatnes.

Iuba, of a kinges stocke.

Sertorius was sent for by the Lusitanians to be their Captaine.

Sertorius vertues and qualities.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS present exployt was to be done, any strong place of advantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to passe over any river, or scape any instant daunger, where it stoode apon speedy execution, and to shew some stratageame or policie in time and place to supplant the enemie: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good service, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the fowle murder he did in his latter dayes apon certaine younge children that were pledges with him (which doutlesse was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgeve) doth manifestlie prove, that he was neither mercifull nor curteous of nature: but that he manie times did finely counterfeat it, when both the time and the warres did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no misfortune can have power to make perfite vertue, grounded upon good reason, to worke in any sorte contrarie to it selfe: neither doe I thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being injured without cause, may peradventure chaunge their naturall dispositions. Which then proved true in Sertorius, who finding fortune contrary unto him, and his good happe chaunged into ill, grewe so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell revenge of them which had villanously betraied him. But now to our matter where we left. Sertorius departed out of Africke apon the Lusitanians offer, who chose him for their General, geving him absolute power and authoritie: and so soone as he arrived, he straight leavied men of warre, and with them subdued the people of Spayne fronting apon their marches, of which the more parte did willingly submit them selves, apon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and curteous, and a valliant man besides in present daunger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine devises and suttelties to winne their good willes: as amonge others, the policie and devise he had of the hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the contrie called Spanus, who meeting by chaunce one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calved, flying from the hunters: he let the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young

Sertorius bountie and clemencie.

Sertorius fained lye of the hynde.

Digitized by Google

hynde, and of a straunge heare, for she was all milke white. SERTORIUS
It chaunced so, that Sertorius was at that time in those partes, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him such maner of presentes: as frutes, fowle, or venison, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poore man presented Sertorius with his younge hynde, which he gladly received, and which with time he made so tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and followe him where ever he went, being nothing the wilder, for the dayly sight of such a number of armed souldiers together as they were, nor yet afrayed of the noyse and tumult of the campe. Insomuch as Sertorius by litle and litle made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous people beleve that it was a gift that Diana had sent him, by the which she made him understande of many and sundrie things to come: knowing wel enough of him selfe, that the barbarous people were men easily deceived, and quickely caught by any subtill superstition, besides that by arte also he brought them to beleve it as a thinge very true. For when he had any secret intelligence geven him, that the enemies would invade some parte of the contries and provinces subject unto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or sodaine attempt: he straight told them that his hynde spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put him selfe in strength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenauntes had wonne a battell, or that he had any advantage of his enemies, he would hide the messenger, and bring his hynde abroade with a garland and coller of nosegayes: and then say it was a token of some good newes comming towardes him, perswading them withall to be of good cheare, and so did sacrifice to the goddes, to geve them thankes for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heades, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, insomuch as they thought they were not now governed any more by a straunger wiser than them selves, but were stedfastly perswaded that they were rather led by some certaine god: and so much the more, bicause

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

that his deedes confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so dayly to increase beyonde the hope and expectation of man.

Sertorius army.

For with two thowsand five hundred souldiers, which he called Romanes (although the most of them in deede were Afrikans, which came over with him out of Africke into Spayne) and foure thowsand Lusitanians, with seven hundred horsemen also, he made warre against foure great Captaines of Rome, which had the leading of sixe score thowsand footemen, two thowsand archers and slingmen, with a world of cities and contries besides. Where Sertorius at the first had not above twenty at the most: and yet with this small power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquer great contries and many goodly cities, but tooke some of the Captaines prisoners also, whome the Romanes sent against him. Of which company Cotta was one, whome he overthrewe in battell by sea, not farre from the citie of Mellaria. He also overcame Fidius in battell, being governor of Spayne Bætica, by the river of Bætis, where he slue two thowsand Romanes. By his treasorer likewise he overcame Lucius Domitius, Proconsull of the other province of Spayne. And an other time he discomfited Toranius an other Captaine, one of Metellus Lieutenaunts, whom he slue in fight with all his army. And Metellus selfe, being taken at that time for one of the most expert men of warre, and chiefest Captaines among the Romanes: him he put also so oft to distresse, that Lucius Lollius was faine to come out of Gaule Narbonensis (now Languedocke) to aîde. And they were furthermore driven to sende Pompey the great with all speede from Rome, with a new army. Bicause Metellus knew not what course to take, having to fight with a most valliant man, and one whom he could never either bring to any set battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde, (so easily could he cast him selfe into all kinde of formes) by reason of the dexterity and swiftnes of his Spanishe souldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without removing a foote, and to lead an army heavy armed, which could kepe their ranckes, and fighting steadely could overthrow their enemies with handstrokes, and marche apon their bellies. But to clime

The army of the Romanes led by foure Captaines.

Sertorius victories.

This place may well be taken two wayes, and either of both allowable:

Digitized by Google

up the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with these men armed as light as the winde, and to pursue them in chase that fled still, and never kept place: it was unpossible for them to doe it, and much lesse to abide hunger and thirst, to live without a kitchin and fire, and likewise to lye on the bare ground without tentes or pavillions, as Sertorius souldiers did. Furthermore Metellus being growen an old man, (having spent all his youth in service of the warres, and taken and suffred great paynes and troubles, geving him selfe now to quiet and pleasure) was matched with Sertorius, being then even at his best age, and lustiest of body, besides that nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall. For he was never geven to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of warres, he was likewise acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long jorneys, watch many dayes and nightes without sleepe, eate litle, and content him selfe with any meate that came to hand. And had he never so litle leasure, he would continually be on horsebacke, riding a hunting up and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready and expert to know how to winde him selfe out of daunger when he was distressed, and contrarily also to compasse in his enemy apon any advantage: and besides, to see where he might enter, and where not. For this cause was Metellus driven (who was still desirous to fight) to abide the losses and discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and Sertorius on thother side refusing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they have, which chase their enemies whome they have overcomen. For he cutte of his vittells on every side, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to marche further forwarde, Sertorius stayed him. And when he lay still in his campe, Sertorius came and gave him alaroms, and drave him to dislodge. Yf Metellus layed siege to any place, Sertorius straight besieged him for want of vittells. So that his souldiers were even weary of altogether. Wheruppon, when Sertorius challenged the combat of Metellus: Oh, well sayd, cryed all the souldiers, let

SERTORIUS and according to the other it might be said, to leade Romane citizens to the warres, fighting like valliant men.

Sertorius warlike vertues.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS Captaine fight against Captaine, and Romane against a Romane. Howbeit Metellus refused him, and the souldiers laughed him to scorne. Neverthelesse he did but smyle at them, and therin shewed him selfe a wise man: for as Theophrastus sayth, a Captaine must dye as a Captaine, not like a private souldier. Furthermore, Metellus considering that the Langobrites (who gave great aide unto Sertorius in all services) were easie to be taken for lacke of water (having but one onely well in all their city) and that whosoever did besiege the same, should straight be master of all the spring heades of the suburbes about it, hoping thereby to make the citie yeelde unto him within two dayes at thutmost: he commaunded his souldiers to vittell them selves for five dayes only. But Sertorius having intelligence thereof, gave good direction and speedy order to prevent him. For he caused two thowsand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and promised rounde summes of money for every skinne brought thether. Many Spanyards and Maurusians straight tooke apon them thenterprise. Thereuppon Sertorius choosinge the lustiest men amonge them, sent them away through the mountaine, commaunding them withall, that when they delivered their goates skinnes with water unto the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last them the lenger which defended the city. Metellus receiving advertisement hereof, was much agrieved withall, bicause his souldiers vittells were wel nere spent, which they had brought according to his commaundement: and therefore he sent Aquinus one of his Leiutenauntes, with six thowsand men to get vittells. Sertorius having intelligence of his purpose, presently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and bestowed there three thowsande men to set uppon the rereward, whilest he him selfe gave charge on the voward. Thus made he Aquinus flie, slue the most parte of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. Howbeit Aquinus selfe the Captaine having lost his weapons and horse, by flying recovered Metellus campe: who thereuppon was driven with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the Spanyards. For these valliant deedes, was Sertorius wonder-

Metellus practiseth to besiege the Langobrites, and to take their city, for lacke of water.

Sertorius finely deceived Metellus, at the siege of the Langobrites.

Sertorius overthrew Aquinus.

Digitized by Google

fully beloved and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially bicause he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude and beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the Romane facion, to kepe their ranckes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, and to take the signall and word of the battell: insomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeves and robbers. Furthermore, he devided great store of gold and silver among them, shewing them how they should gilde their headpeeces, sette out their shieldes and targettes with fine workemanshippe, and also bravely apparell them selves with riche clokes and slevelesse cassockes apon their armor, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he marvelously wanne the heartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he further binde them unto him, by that he did unto their children. For he sent generally for all the noble mens young sonnes, through all the contries and provinces subject unto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of Osca: where he provided them of schoolemasters to teache them the Greeke and Latine tongue: bearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other ende, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be imployed in the service of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine devise of him, to have them as Ostages for their faith and loyaltie towardes him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonnes apparelled like Romanes, in fayer long gownes garded with purple, to goe civilly to the schooles: that Sertorius payed for their learninge: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gave rewardes unto them that were the best schollers, hanging juells about their neckes, which the Romanes call *Bulla*. Insomuch, that they having a custome at that time in Spaine, that such as were about the Prince or their chieftaine should dye with him when he dyed, that custome of voluntarie vowe to dye with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, devotion: there were very fewe of their followers and familiars that would vowe to dye with other

SERTORIUS

Sertorius taught the Spanyards the maner of the Romanes.

The citie of Osca.

Sertorius subtill policie.

The Spanyards devotion.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS Captaines, but on thother side, thowsandes commonly followed Sertorius, having vowed to loose their lives with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was overthrowen by a certaine citie of Spayne, the enemies egerly pursuing him: the Spanyards not regarding their owne lives to save his, tooke him up on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man apon them, till they put him into the city, who being safe and out of daunger, they then looked by running to save them selves the best they could. Thus was Sertorius not only beloved of the Spanyards, but of other souldiers also that came out of Italie. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the same faction, arrived in Spayne full of money, and with a good number of souldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against Metellus: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of Sertorius. The which spited Perpenna to the hart, being prowde and stately by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that Pompey was past over the mountaines Pyrenei, the souldiers armed them selves, and plucked up their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out apon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius, threatning him that if he would not, they would leave him alone, and seeke them a Captaine, that could both save him selfe and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to followe their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie ensignes he had with him, to joyne with Sertorius force. Thus became Sertorius army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the river of Ebrus had yeelded unto him. For then came souldiers to him out of all partes, howebeit they were a rashe confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, having no reason nor pacience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to set apon their enemies. This troubled Sertorius much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he sawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes have their wills, and both without reason and all good order would so goe set apon their enemies: he gave them the head, and let them goe as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly, but yet tooke such order and

The Spanyards love to Sertorius.

Perpenna joyned with Sertorius.

Ebrus fl.

Digitized by Google

direction, as they should not utterly be cast away, hoping after that to have them the more obedient unto him. And in deede they had their payment as he conjectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them safe into his campe. Now to take away the feare and perplexitie from them, which this overthrow perhappes had striken into them: immediatly after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to use some speeche unto them. At which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middes among them, thone an olde and feeble jade, and thother a goodly lustie horse, which besides other things, had a marvelous fayer thicke taile. Behinde the old leane jade, he set a lusty tall fellow: and behinde the goodly horse also, he placed a litle wearish man, and seeming to sight to have but small strength. Now apon a signe geven them which he had made them privy to, the strong man tooke the leane horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would have pluckt it of by the stumpe: and the other wearish man fell to plucking of heare by heare from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and swet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinking to have pulled it of, and in thende did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on thother side in a shorte space, (and at ease) had left the great horse taile with never a heare on it: Sertorius then rising up, spake in this sorte to his souldiers: Doe ye not see (my frendes and companions) sayd he, how time and perseverance exceedeth force? and that thinges unlikely at the first to be overcome by force, are yet in time, by litle and litle obtained. For continuance overcommeth all thinges, and there is no force nor power, but processe of time consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them, that can take oportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwise hast and rashnes is as daungerous an enemy as may be, to them that doe thinges of a head without regard. By these common devises wherewith Sertorius daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunitie of time. But of all the stratageames he used in warre, that only exceeded al other, which he shewed unto

A fine devise of Sertorius to teache men the benefit of time and perseverance.

Sertorius wordes to his souldiers, declaring thintent of his devise.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

The Characitanians what people they be.

Tagus fl.

a people called the Characitanians. The people doe dwell on the other side of the river of Tagus, and have neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hill, full of hollow caves and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towardes the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great slimie ground and so rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, and turneth to dust under his feete. And therefore, by meanes of the same, when those people were afrayed of any enemies, or that they had conveyed the goodes they had robbed and stollen from their neighbors into those caves, they thought them selves safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was unpossible to compell them to come out. Nowe it chaunced that Sertorius flying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had overthrowen him. But Sertorius being in a rage with them, and bicause he would shew that he fled not: tooke his horse backe the next morning and rode as neere to the hill as he coulde, to viewe the nature and scituacion of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked up and downe, vainely threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and comming to and fro, he perceived the winde raised a great dust, of that britle earth we have spoken of, and caried it full into the Characitanians holes, the mouthes whereof as we sayd before, lay full apon the North. This Northen winde, which some call Cæcias, is the only winde of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the moores and mountaines thereaboutes, which be continually covered with snow, and then in the hart of sommer is nourished and inforced by the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a joly coole winde, which refresheth the barbarous people and beastes all the day long. Sertorius marking this with him selfe, and understanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: commaunded his souldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light britle earth together, and to raise a mount of it, right against the other hill. The

Sertorius wonderfull devise against the barbarous people, called the Characitanians.

Digitized by Google

barbarous people made a mockery of it at the first, thinking Sertorius would have made a mount to have fought with them apon it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his souldiers backe againe into his campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a prety litle winde sturring, that only blew of the toppe of his forced mount, and the highest parte of that masse of earth, as chaffe when they winnowe corne: and as the sunne beganne to have any power, the North winde also rose, which foorthwith filled all the hill with dust. And withall, came Sertorius souldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all those drie clots of clay in peeces. The horsemen on thother side, they still mannedged their horses up and downe in it, to raise up the greater dust, which the winde caried as soone as it rose, and blew into the caves of these barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and riftes of the rockes. So they having no other ventes nor ayer any way, but there where the winde blew in apon them: it did so blindefolde their eyes, and filled their caves with such a hotte stuffing ayer, that they were almost choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they should drawe their breathes, this stuffing ayer and dust came in at their mouthes so fast, that they had much a doe to hold out two dayes, and on the thirde yeelded them selves unto Sertorius mercy: the which thing did not so much increase his power, as it wanne him honor, by policie to have wonne such an unlikely conquest, which by force could never have bene gotten, and where to fight was matter impossible. So longe therefore as he made warre with Metellus alone, he commonly had the advantage of him, bicause Metellus was an olde man and heavy, and could not resist Sertorius lusty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of theeves and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when Pompey was come over the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped eche before other, and that Pompey had shewed him all the stratageames and policies of warre possible for a good Captaine to devise, and he the like unto Pompey: and found that Sertorius had the

SERTORIUS

Sertorius dedes against Pompey.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

better of him, both in laying his ambushes, and also in foreseeing to intrappe him: then grew the fame of Sertorius to be so great, that even in Rome it selfe he was thought to be the noblest Captaine, and of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey at that time of great fame and reputacion, which afterwardes also waxed greater, by the noble actes he did under Sylla, who gave him the surname of Pompey the great, for that he had deserved honor of triumphe, before his beard was growen. So, when he was comen thus into Spayne, divers townes and cities subject unto Sertorius, were halfe in minde to yeelde unto Pompey: but afterwardes they altered againe, apon the chaunce that happened unto the citie of Lauron, beyond all expectation. For Sertorius being gone to lay siege to it, Pompey in hast went thither with his armie to raise the siege. Neere unto the city there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe in, and also to distresse them of the citie: whereupon thone made hast to get it, and thother to keepe him from it. Notwithstanding, Sertorius was the first man, and got the hill: and Pompey came even as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made Sertorius sure at that time, being kept in on the one side with the citie of Lauron, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he sent unto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing, more then to stand apon their walles at their pleasure, to see Sertorius straightly besieged, who thought to have besieged them. This message being brought to Sertorius, he smyled at it, and sayd, that he would teache Syllaes younge scholler (for so in mockerie he called Pompey) that a wise Captaine should rather see behinde then before him: and therewithall he shewed the Lauronitans sixe thowsande footemen well armed, which he had left in his campe when he came to take the hill where he was, to thend that if Pompey came by chaunce to assaile him, they should geve a charge apon his rereward. Pompey havinge founde this too late, durst not offer Sertorius battell, fearing to be compassed in behinde: and on thother side he was ashamed to forsake the Lauronitans, whome he was driven in thend to see utterly spoyled and destroyed before his eyes, and durst not once

Sertorius goeth to lay siege to the citie of Lauron.

Sertorius worthy saying of a Captaine.

Digitized by Google

sturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie parte seeinge no hope of aide by him, yeelded straight unto Sertorius, who did not onely pardon them, but also suffered them to goe whether they would. Howbeit he burnt the citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that never shewed crueltie in anger) but to shame Pompey withall, and to stoppe their mouthes that made such accompt of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that Pompey him selfe being present, and might in manner have warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates, neither durst nor could helpe them. In deede Sertorius in continuance of this warre susteined much losse and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenaunts: for, as touching him selfe, he was never overthrowen, nor those he led. And yet he ever wanne more honor in recovering of those battels which his Captaines lost, than his enemies did that had put them to the worse. As in the battell he wanne against Pompey, by the city of Sucron: and in an other he wanne against Pompey and Metellus both, by the citie of Tuttia. And as for the overthrow of Sucron, it is thought it came through Pompeyes ambition, making the more hast for feare Metellus should be partaker of the honor of his victorie: and that was the thing Sertorius looked for, to fight before Metellus came to joyne with him, and therefore he fought the battell with Pompey towardes night, supposing the darkenesse of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to save them selves if they were overcome, and also to chase the enemies if so it happened they had the upper hande, bicause they were straungers, and knew not the contrie. When both battells came to geve charge, Sertorius at the first was not directly against Pompey, but against Afranius, who led the left wing of Pompeyes battell, and him selfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howebeit Sertorius being advertised that the left wing of his owne army against the which Pompey fought, was in such distresse as they gave backe, and could abide no lenger, if they were not presently aided: straight left the leading of the right wing, which he assigned over to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all speede

Sertorius burnt the city of Lauron in Pompeis sight.

Sertorius of him selfe invincible.

Battle betwext Sertorius and Pompey.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS possible unto the left wing, which were then even as good as flying. And first he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put those also in good order that were yet a fighting: and so having encoraged them both with his wordes, and the presence of his person, he gave a new charge againe apon Pompey, more coragiously than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chasing such as fled) and came so fiercely apon him, that he put all the whole army of the Romanes to flight: insomuch as Pompey him selfe escaped killing in the field very hardly being sore hurt, and saved by a straunge meane. For the Afrikans of Sertorius having taken Pompeis horse (which was richly trapped with harnesse of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among them selves, and fighting for devision of the same: in the meane time let Pompey goe, and never followed after him. Afranius againe on thother side, whilest Sertorius was gone to helpe the other wing of his battel, made them flie all that stoode before him, and followed killing of them even into the trenches of their campe, entring in amongest them that fled, and spoiled the campe being darke night, knowing nothing of Pompeis overthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from spoyle. Sertorius also comming thither apon the instant, finding Pompeis men in disorder, slue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with Pompey. But receiving intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he sounded the retreate, and dislodged from the place he encamped, saying: Had not that old woman comen, I would have whipped that young boy to Rome with roddes. Now was Sertorius very heavy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: for thereby all his sutteltie and finesse to kepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then specially, when they stoode in neede of most comforte. But by good happe, certaine of his souldiers that had lost them selves in the night, met with the hynde in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. Sertorius hearing of her, promised them a good reward, so that

Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.

Sertorius mocke to Pompey.

Digitized by Google

they would tell no living creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be secretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleasaunt countenaunce tolde the noble men and chiefe Captaines of these barbarous people, how the goddes had revealed it to him in his dreame, that he should shortly have a marvelous good thing happen to him: and with these wordes sate downe in his chayer to geve audience. Whereuppon they that kept the hynde not farre from thence, did secretly let her goe. The hynde being lose, when she had spied Sertorius, ran straight to his chayer with great joy, and put her head betwext his legges, and layed her mouth in his right hande, as she before was wont to doe. Sertorius also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared marvelous glad, shewinge such tender affection to the hynde, as it seemed the water stoode in his eyes for joy. The barbarous people that stoode there by and beheld the same, at the first were much amazed therewith: but afterwardes when they had better bethought them selves, for joy they clapped their handes together, and waited upon Sertorius to his lodging with great and joyfull showtes, saying, and stedfastly beleving, that he was a heavenly creature, and beloved of the goddes: whereupon they were marvelously pleased in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affayres should prosper dayly better and better. An other time having straighted his enemies with scarcety of vittells, in the territorie of the Saguntines, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troupes of men to forrage the contrie, to get vittells. Apon thencounter it was valliantly fought of either side, where Memmius was slaine, (the valliantest Captaine Pompey had) coragiously fighting in the middest of the battell. Sertorius finding him selfe the stronger, followed his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstoode him, untill he came unto Metellus selfe, who taried his comming, defending him selfe more valliantly than was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: insomuch as he was at the last hurt with a partisan. Which was such a dishonor to the Romanes, not unto them only that saw it, but unto such also as heard of it,

SERTORIUS

Sertorius slue Memmius, Pompeis Lieutenaunt.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS that being all ashamed to forsake their Captaine, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies: they covered Metellus rounde about with their shieldes and targets, and getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gave such a fierce onset, as they drave the Spanyards to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, Sertorius to geve his scattered men time to save them selves, and leasure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leavied) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of strong scituation, and there setting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing lesse then to abide there to be besieged, but only to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to besiege the citie, hoping they should easily winne it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people which had therby good leasure given them to save them selves. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppresse the new supplie that was comming to Sertorius, who had sent out his Captaines to the next cities and shieres adjoyning, to leavie men, with expresse commaundement, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should sende them unto him, as they did. So when he understoode of their comming, he easily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worse then before: somtime cutting their vittells from them by land, through his ambushes and continuall suttle policies, being quickely in everie place whether they thought to go, with his light army: and on the sea also with certaine pirats pinneses, with the which he scoored all the coast apon the sea side. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to sever them selves farre one from the other, insomuch as Metellus went to winter in Gaule, Pompey remained in Spayne, (in great scarcetie of all thinges for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the Vacceians, and wrote to the Senate at Rome, that he would returne with his armie into Italie, if they sent him not money out of hande, for that he had spent all his owne dayly fighting for the defense of Italie. Thus it was certainly thought at Rome, that Sertorius would

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius besieged of Pompey.

Digitized by Google

be in Italie before Pompey: bicause he had through his valliancy and great skill brought two of the most famous Captaines of their time, to great extreamitie and distresse. SERTORIUS

Then did Metellus showe howe much he feared Sertorius, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by sounde of trompet, that if any Romane could kill him, he would geve him an hundred silver talentes, and twentie thowsand Iugera of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his contry and goodes againe, buying his death by treason, whome he could not overcome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of Sertorius, he was so joconde and prowde for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to say, Prince, or soveraine Captaine: and was contented the people should sette up aulters and doe sacrifices unto him in everie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to dissolute bankets, sitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory goe up and downe the hall, moved by certaine secret engines carying triumphes of golde, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunsers of goodly young boyes and fayer girles following of them, with songes of triumphe in his praise. Wherein doubtlesse he deserved to be laughed at, shewing him selfe so much caried away with joy and vaine glory, for one overthrowe geven unto him, whom him selfe was wont to call Syllaes fugitive, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On thother side, Sertorius noble corage was easily discerned, first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from Rome, and comen to him, Senators: and having them about him, called them the Senate, making some of them Treasorers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all thinges according to the manner of his contrie. And in this also, that making warres with the souldiers of the cities of Spayne, and defraying the same at their owne charges, yet he never gave them any authoritie, so much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with Romane officers and Captaines: saying still, that he fought for the liberty of the

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himselfe be called Imperator.

Metellus vanitie.

Sertorius noble minde.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

Sertorius honorable respect unto his contrie.

Sertorius minde greatest in adversity.

Sertorius affection to his contrie.

Sertorius naturall love to his mother.

people of Rome, and not to increase the glorie and power of the Spanyards, to the hurt and dishonor of the Romanes. For to say truly of him, he ever loved his contrie well, and longed much to be sent for home againe: and yet in his greatest troubles, when thinges thwarted him most, then was his minde greatest, yeelding no maner of shewe or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or discouragement in him. Againe, when he was in best prosperitie, and had most advantage of his enemies, he sent unto Metellus and Pompey both, letting them understand that for his parte he was contented to lay armes aside, and to live at home like a private man, so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest citizen in Rome, then being a banished man out of his contry, to be called Emperor of the world. And it is said, that one of the chiefest causes which made him desire so much to be called home againe, was the tender love he bare unto his mother (that had brought him up from the time of his fathers death) upon whom he cast all his love and delite: insomuch as after that his frends in Spaine had sent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiving newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it so strake him to the hart, that he had almost dyed for sorrowe. For he lay seven dayes together continually on the grounde weeping, and never gave his souldiers the watch word, nor would be seene of any of his frends: until that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne estate, came to him to his tent, and were so importunate of him by intreaty and perswasion, that they gotte him out of his tent to shew him selfe to his souldiers, to speake to them, and to take order for his affayres which prospered very well. By these signes many have judged, that he was of a curteous and pityfull nature, and that naturally he was geven to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of warre, bicause he coulde not otherwise live quietly nor safely, being pursued by his enemies, which would never let him rest, and thereuppon entred into warre, for his owne gard and safety. The treaty selfe he

Digitized by Google

made with king Mithridates, argued his noble minde. For when Mithridates whome Sylla had overcomen, was recoverd againe (like a wrestler that being overthrowen getteth up on his feete to trye an other fall with his enemy) and tooke apon him to invade Asia: Sertorius fame was then so great, that he was spoken of through the world, by marchauntes comming from the West, who blew abroade the reporte therof al the East partes over, even into the realme of Pont, like to marchandises which they went to seeke for in straunge contries. Whereupon Mithridates being perswaded by the vaine vauntes of his favored courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hanniball, and him selfe unto king Pyrrus, saying that the Romanes being set apon by them both, could not withstand two such excellent natures, and great powers together, when the noblest Captaine of the world should be joyned with the greatest and most puisant Prince that ever was: sent thereupon his Ambassadors into Spayne unto Sertorius, with full power and commission to promise him money and shippes towards the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he desired that Sertorius would redeliver him the possession of Asia againe, the which he had surrendred up unto the Romanes apon the peace made betwext him and Sylla. Sertorius hereupon called his counsell together (which he termed the Senate) to consult apon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mithridates offers, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a title in the ayer, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therfore things present, whereof they had greater neede, yet would Sertorius never agree therunto. Notwithstanding, thus much he graunted Mithridates, that he should enjoy Cappadocia and Bithynia, which had ever bene contries subject unto kings, and whereunto the Romanes had never any right, excepting this specially: that he would never suffer him to usurpe any contry, unto the which the Romanes had any just title, and the which he had lost in warres by force of armes unto Fimbria, and had afterwardes also willingly surrendred by agreement made betwext him and Sylla. For he sayd

SERTORIUS

Mithridates sent Ambassadors unto Sertorius in Spayne.

Sertorius noble and worthie aunswere to Mithridates requests.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

Sertorius worthy saying.

Sertorius league with Mithridates.

M. Marius sent unto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gave M. Marius Proconsull, the upper hand.

he would enlarge the Empire of Rome through his victories, but not impayre or hurte it by his conquestes. For, a valliant man (sayed he) should covet to conquer with honor, but in no wise desire life with dishonor. His aunswere being reported unto kinge Mithridates, did much amaze him: and some have wrytten, that he then sayd unto his familiars: What would Sertorius commaund us then, if he sate among them in the Senate at Rome, who being an exile now, and remaining in the furthest parte of the world by the sea Atlanticum, doth take apon him to bounde the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning us also with warres, if we attempt any thing against Asia? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed apon othes taken betwene them, that Mithridates should enjoy the contries of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and that Sertorius should send him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that apon performance thereof, the kinge should geve him the summe of three thowsande talentes, and fortie shippes of warre. So Sertorius sent thither one of his Captaines called Marcus Marius, a Senator of Rome, who fled to him for succour: with whom Mithridates distressed certaine cities of Asia. And when Marius entred into them, with his sergeauntes carying the bundells of roddes and axes before him, as before a Proconsull of the Romanes: Mithridates gave him the upper hande, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, Marius did set certaine cities at libertie, and wrote unto others, declaring unto them, that Sertorius of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their taxe and customes they payed: so that poore Asia which had bene oppressed by the covetousnes of the Treasorers and farmers of the Romanes, and also by the pride and insolencie of the souldiers which lay in garrison among them, beganne to have some hope of chaunge, and to desire thalteration of government, which Sertorius offered. But on thother side, the Senators of Rome that were in Spayne as banished men in Sertorius armie, and of the like dignitie and estate that him selfe was of, they hearing say that all was well againe at Rome, and perswading them selves that they should be stronge enough for their enemies, havinge no cause to feare any more daunger: beganne then to envie

Digitized by Google

Sertorius greatnesse and authoritie, but Perpenna specially amonge other, who by reason of his nobilitie being puft up with a vaine presumption and ambitious selfe will, practised to make him selfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that ende threwe foorth amongest his frendes and familiars such kinde of seditious wordes: 'What cursed fortune (quod he) my 'frendes doth dayly haunt us worse then other, making us 'that were unwilling to obey Sylla (commaunding at this 'day both lande and sea at his will) to choose rather to 'forsake our landes and contrie? And nowe being come 'hither in hope to live at libertie, we willingly make our 'selves slaves, becomminge Sertorius garde for defence of 'his persone in his exile: who to requite us withall, payeth 'us with fayer wordes, calling us the Senate, whereat everie 'man laugheth to heare us so called, and in fine we must 'abide this dishonor to be at his commaundement, and 'drudge and take as much paines, as the Spanyards and 'Lusitanians doe them selves.' Hereuppon the more parte of them being caried away with these mutinous wordes, durst not yet shew them selves in actuall rebellion against Sertorius, being afeard of his authoritie: howebeit secretly underhande they overthrewe his doinges, by shewing extreame crueltie unto the barbarous people, by pretext of justice, imposing great paymentes apon them, geving it out it was Sertorius commaundement. By which their lewde practises, many cities revolted against him, and put them selves into his enemies handes: and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions apon him. Furthermore, those whome he sent to pacifie the tumultes did handle them selves in such sorte, that where they shoulde have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they set them farder out, and procured newe tumultes. Hereupon was Sertorius gentle nature and former goodnes so altered, that he committed a most cruell act apon all the noble mens children of that land, which he brought up at schoole in the city of Osca: for some of them he put to death, and others he solde as slaves. Thus Perpenna having many associates in his wicked conspiracie against Sertorius, brought into his confederacie also one called Manlius, who had chiefest charge in all the army. This

The envie of Perpenna unto Sertorius.

The seditious words of Perpenna, against Sertorius.

Sertorius slew the Spanyards sonnes.

The treason of Perpenna and his accomplices against Sertorius.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS Manlius loved a young boy exceedingly, and bicause he would let him know he loved him well, he told him on a time the whole plat of this conspiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others love but of his, and to love him only: for he should see him a great man before it were longe. The younge boy lovinge an other better than him, called Aufidius, went and revealed unto him all that Manlius had told him. Aufidius marveled to heare the boy made privie to it, seeing him selfe also was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that Manlius was one of them. And when the boy also named Perpenna, Græcinus, and some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of counsell, he was worse afrayed then before, but yet seemed to make litle of it, and tolde the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit Manlius wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boasted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went foorthwith unto Perpenna, and tolde him how their practise was discovered, declaring further what daunger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he sayd, and thereupon they devised this treason. They had suborned a messenger to bring counterfeate letters to Sertorius, feyning in the same that one of his Lieutenauntes had won a great battell, in the which he had slaine a marvelous number of his enemies. Sertorius being very glad of the good newes, made sacrifice unto the goddes to geve them thankes. Whereupon, Perpenna taking the present oportunity invited Sertorius to supper to him, and all other his frendes that were present (every one of the conspiracie with him) and was so importunate with Sertorius, that in the end he promised him to come. Now Sertorius did ever use great modestie at the bourde, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them also that used his table, to talke of grave and wise matters, and yet one to be honestly mery with an other, without any playing or uncomely talke. In the middest of supper, they that sought occasion of quarrell, beganne to speake lewde wordes, counterfeating to be dronke, and to play many vile

The treason devised against Sertorius.

Sertorius modesty at his table.

Digitized by Google

partes of purpose to anger Sertorius. Whereuppon Sertorius, whether it was that he coulde not abide to see those villanous partes, or that he mistrusted their ill will towardes him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their unwonted irreverent maner shewed unto him: fell backewards apon the bed where he sate at meate, seeming no more to marke what they did or sayd. Perpenna at that instant tooke a cuppe full of wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The cuppe falling downe made a noyse, and that was the signe geven among them. Therewithall Antonius that sate above Sertorius at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. Sertorius feeling the thrust, strove to rise: but the traiterous murderer got up on Sertorius brest, and held both his handes. And thus was Sertorius cruelly murdered, not able to defend him selfe, all the conspirators falling apon him. Sertorius death being blowen abroade, the most parte of the Spanyards sent Ambassadors immediatly unto Pompey and Metellus, and yeelded them selves unto them: and Perpenna with those that remained with him, attempted to doe some thing with Sertorius army and preparation. But all fell out to his utter destruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to assaile Pompey, who had overthrowen him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamitie, he did not use him selfe like a valliant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to save his life, having Sertorius letters and wrytinges, he offered Pompey to deliver him all Sertorius letters sent him from the chiefest Senators of Rome, wrytten with their owne handes, requestinge Sertorius to bring his armie into Italie, where he should finde numbers of people desirous of his comming, and that gaped still for chaunge of government. But here did Pompey shewe him selfe a grave and no younge man, deliveringe thereby the citie of Rome from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innovation. For he put all Sertorius letters and wrytinges on a heape together, and burnt them every one, without readinge any of them, or sufferinge them to be red. And moreover,

SERTORIUS

The murder of Sertorius.

Perpenna taken by Pompey.

Pompeis wisedom in burning Sertorius letters.

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS

Perpenna and his conspirators put to death by Pompey.

he presently put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would breede new occasion of trouble and sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of them afterwards were brought to Pompey, who put them all to death: and the rest of them fled into Africke where they were all overthrowen by them of the contrie, and not a man of them scaped, but fell unfortunately apon thedge of the sworde, Aufidius only except, Manlius companion in love. Who, either bicause he was not reckened of, or else unknowen, dyed an olde man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miserable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF EUMENES

Eumenes parentage.

URIS the Historiographer wryteth, that Eumenes was borne in the citie of Cardia in Thracia, being a cariers sonne of the same contrie, (who for povertie earned his living by carying marchaundises to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought up, as well at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, Philip king of Macedon chaunsing to come through the city of Cardia, where having nothing to do he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the citie handle their weapons, and boyes to wrestle: and among them, Eumenes shewed such activitie, and performed it with so good a grace withall, that Philippe liked the boye well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their reporte seemeth truest, which wryte that Philippe did advaunce him for the love he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of Philippe, Eumenes continued his service with king Alexander his sonne, where he was thought as wise a man, and as faithfull to his master, as any: and though he was called the Chaunceller or chiefe

How Eumenes came to preferrement by the kinges of Macedon.

Digitized by Google

secretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest frendes and familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenaunt generall of his whole army, against the Indians, and was Perdiccas successor in the government of his province, Perdiccas being preferred unto Hephæstions charge after his death. Nowe bicause Neoptolemus (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body unto the king) after the death of Alexander told the Lordes of the counsell of Macedon, that he had served the king with his shield and speare, and howe Eumenes had followed with his penne and paper: the Lordes laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honors Eumenes had received, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinseman. For the first Lady that Alexander knew in Asia, was Barsine Artabazus daughter, by whom he had a sonne, and called his name Hercules: and of two of her sisters he maried the one of them called Apama unto Ptolomye, and her other sister also called Barsine, he bestowed upon Eumenes, when he distributed the Persian Ladies among his Lordes and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with king Alexander, and stoode in some daunger by meanes of Hephæstion. For Hephæstion following Alexanders courte on a time, having appointed Evius a phiphe player a lodging, which Eumenes servauntes had taken up for their maister: Eumenes being in a rage, went with one Mentor unto Alexander, crying out that a man were better be a phiphe and a common plaier of Tragedies, then a souldier, sithence such kinde of people were preferred before men of service that ventured their lives in the warres. Alexander at that present time was as angrie as Eumenes, and roundly tooke up Hephæstion for it: howbeit immediatly after having chaunged his minde, he was much offended with Eumenes, bicause he thought him not to have used that franke speech so much against Hephæstion, as of a certaine presumptuous boldenes towardes him selfe. And at an other time also, when Alexander was sending Nearchus with his army by sea to cleere the coastes of the Occean, it chaunsed the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his frendes to take

Barsine, the wife of Eumenes.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

up money in prest, and among others, unto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred talentes. Eumenes lent him but a hundred, and sayd he had much a doe to get him so much of all his tenantes. Alexander sayd nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talentes: but commaunded his officers to set Eumenes tent a fire, bicause he would take him tardy with a lye, before he could geve order to cary away his gold and silver. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make shift to save any thing: the which Alexander repented afterwardes, and was sorie it was burnt, bicause all his letters and wrytinges were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and silver mingled together, above a thowsand talentes, and yet Alexander tooke none of it away: but more then that, he sent unto all his Lieutenauntes, Captaines, and Governors of contries, wheresoever they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had sent unto him, bicause all those which he had were burnt, and commaunded Eumenes to take them againe. After that, Eumenes and Hephæstion fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was geven him, insomuch as very fowle wordes passed betwext Hephæstion and him: yet did not the king geve Eumenes any ill countenaunce at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after Hephæstion was dead, the king taking his death grievously whom he loved so derely, gave no good countenaunce (and was very briefe besides) unto those whom he knew bare any grudge unto Hephæstion whiles he lived, and that he thought were glad of his death, but specially unto Eumenes of all other, whose malice towards Hephæstion was knowen to him well enough: insomuch as he would ofte twyt him withall, remembring him of the injuries he had offred Hephæstion. But Eumenes being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurte: and devised (to further Alexanders desire, seeking to honor Hephæstions funerall with all pompe possible) newe inventions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before bene seene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich

Digitized by Google

and stately tombe. Againe, when Alexander was dead, there fell out great variance betwext the Macedonian footemen, and the noble men that had bene neerest about him: and in that quarrell, Eumenes in good will stucke to the Lordes, but in wordes he seemed a newter and frend to both partes: saying, it was not for him being a straunger to thrust him selfe into the quarrells of the Macedonians. And when the other Lordes were departed from Babylon, Eumenes tarying behinde pacified the greatest parte of the souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had consulted together, and taken order for those contentions, they devided the government of the provinces amonge them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition Eumenes had Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and all that coast upon Mare Ponticum, unto the citie of Trapezunte, the which at that time was not subject to Thempire of Macedon, for Ariarathes kept it then as king. Howbeit it was sayd, that Leonatus and Antigonus would put him in possession of it, with a great and puisant armie, and make him Governor there. Yet afterwardes Antigonus made none accompt of Perdiccas letters unto him, putting him in the heade of great imaginations to conquer all, despising all other. And Leonatus also came downe into Phrygia, and undertooke the jorney of this conquest for Eumenes sake. But when he was in jorney thitherwardes, Hecatæus, tyran of the Cardians, went to him to his army, and prayed him rather to goe helpe Antipater and the other Macedonians, which were besieged in the citie of Lamia. So Leonatus being willing to take sea, and go thither, went about to perswade Eumenes also to like of it, and to reconcile him with Hecatæus: for they were not frendes one with an other, by reason of a quarrell that Eumenes father had with this Hecatæus, about the government of their citie. Besides that, Eumenes had many times complained of him openly unto king Alexander, saying, that he was a tyranne, and besought the kinge that it woulde please him to sette the Cardians at libertie. And therefore Eumenes refusing that jorney against the Grecians, alleaging that he was afrayed

EUMENES

Eumenes made Governor of the contries of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES of Antipater, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, and also to gratifie Hecatæus, he would put him to death: Leonatus then revealed him selfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe over the sea to ayde Antipater, where in deede his meaning was to take the kingdom of Macedon. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from Cleopatra, willing him to come to the citie of Pella, and there she would marry him. When Eumenes was made privy to his purpose: either bicause he feared Antipater, or els for that he had no great good opinion of Leonatus, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very rashe and unconstant in his doinges, he stale away from him by night, with those fewe men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the summe of five thowsand talentes, and fled with them unto Perdiccas, unto whom he bewrayed all Leonatus intent and minde: whereuppon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after, Perdiccas brought him into Cappadocia, with a great armie which he him selfe did leade. Where Ariarathes was taken prisoner, and Eumenes established Governor of the contrie, who delivered the charge of the great cities unto his frendes, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing every where, Iudges, Receivers, Governors, and all such other officers necessarie as he thought meete, Perdiccas medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, Eumenes went away with Perdiccas againe, as well to wayte apon him, as also bicause he would ever be about the kinges. But Perdiccas thinking with him selfe that he alone could wel enough performe thenterprise he went about, and considering also that the realme he left behinde him stoode needefull of a wise and skilfull Governor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: when they were in Cilicia, returned Eumenes backe againe, under colour to send him to his government, but in dede to keepe the realme of Armenia in obedience, the which confined apon the fronters of his contrie whereof he was Governor, bicause Neoptolemus did under hand practise

Digitized by Google

some alteration. Now though Neoptolemus was a prowde and insolent person, yet Eumenes still devised to hold him in, and kept him from attemptes, by gentle and fayer wordes. Furthermore, perceiving also that the regiment of the Macedonian footemen were growen exceding stowt and insolent: he for a strength and defense against them, set up a company of horsemen, and to bring it to passe, released all the contriemen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serve a horsebacke, and bought a great number of horse of service, which he gave amongs them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and giftes he gave to them that served well, and so by continuall exercise and often removing them from place to place, made them very ready and serviceable. Thus were the noble men of Macedon, some much amazed, some others very glad when they sawe howe by this diligence Eumenes had in so shorte a time gotten about him such a number, as sixe thowsand three hundred horsemen. About that time, Craterus and Antigonus having subdued the Græcians, came on with their army into Asia to overthrow Perdiccas greatnes and power: and newes also, that shortly they would invade Cappadocia. Whereupon Perdiccas being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against Ptolomye, made Eumenes his Lieutenaunt generall, and gave him commission and full authoritie over all his souldiers that were for him, either in Cappadocia, or in Armenia: and wrote letters unto Neoptolemus and Alcetas, commaunding them by the same that they should be obedient unto Eumenes, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for Alcetas, he flatly aunswered, that he would not be at this warre: for the Macedonians under his charge were ashamed to take armes against Antipater, and moreover they would not fight against Craterus, but contrarily were bent to receive him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. Neoptolemus on thother side, was as ready to play the traitor, and to doe Eumenes a shrewde turne, as Alcetas was. For being sent for by Eumenes to come to him, where he should have obeyed him, he set his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did Eumenes

EUMENES

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

reape the first frute of his wise foresight of the horsemen, which he had set up to make head against the footemen of the Macedonians. For when his owne footemen were broken and overthrowen, he overcame Neoptolemus, and put him to flight with his horsemen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made them march in order of battell against the Macedonians, who were dispersed every where, following the chase of his footemen, whom they had overthrowen. Thus comming apon them in this disorder, he drave them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde unto him: and moreover, everie man to take his othe to serve him faithfully in this warre, wheresoever he would lead them. Now Neoptolemus gathering a few together that fled, went with them unto Craterus and Antipater: who sent unto Eumenes to pray him to take their parte, with condition that he should not onely enjoy the contries and provinces still which he had in government, but furthermore that they would geve him others unto them, and make him stronger then ever he was: besides that by thacceptation of thoffer, he should be taken for Antipaters good frend, where before he was ever reckoned his enemy. Whereunto Eumenes made aunswere: that having alwayes bene Antipaters enemy, he could not of a sodaine become his frend, specially seeing him use his frendes as enemies: howebeit otherwise that he was very willing to make Craterus peace with Perdiccas, and to restore him againe to his favor, apon reasonable and indifferent condicions. And furthermore, that if he ment to assaile him, that then he would aide him so longe as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lose his life before he woulde breake his promise. This aunswere being brought unto Antipater, they fel to consult at leasure what was to be done. In the meane space, Neoptolemus that fled apon his overthrowe, was come unto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and besought them both verie instantly, (but Craterus chiefly) to geve him aide if it were possible. For the Macedonians were so farre in love with him, that if they did but see his hatte, and heare him speake, they would all arme them selves and follow him. For, to speake a troth, Craterus was had in great estimation among the Macedonians, inso-

Digitized by Google

much as after Alexanders death, he was more desired of the common souldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their sakes incurred Alexanders disgrace and displeasure, bicause he went about to perswade him to leave the king of Persiaes maner, whereunto Alexander by litle and litle gave him selfe: and also for that he maintained and defended the customes of the contry of Macedon, the which every man through pride and excesse beganne to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore Craterus sent Antipater into Cilicia, and he him selfe with Neoptolemus, went against Eumenes with the best parte of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether unprovided, supposing he would geve him selfe to pleasure and pastime, after so late a victorie. But Eumenes like a wise and vigilant Captaine had taken such order, that he heard newes time enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readines to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill in warre. For he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not only kepe his enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men also to kill Craterus in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepe also so dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie. First, he made a rumor to be spred in his host, how Neoptolemus and Pigres were againe comen against him, with certaine horsemen of all sortes gathered together, Cappadocians and Paphlagonians. And when he thought to have removed in the night, a great desire of sleepe came apon him, in the which he had a marvelous straunge dreame. For it seemed unto him that he saw two Alexanders preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a battell of footemen, ranged after the Macedonian facion: who comming to geve charge thone apon the other, came the goddesse Minerva to aide the one, and Ceres likewise to ayde the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom Minerva aided was overthrowen, and that Ceres had gathered eares of corne

EUMENES

Eumenes skill in warre.

Eumenes dreame.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

and made a crowne of them, to geve him that had wonne the field. Hereupon Eumenes perswaded him selfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile contrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sowen with corne in every place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, to see all the corne fields how greene they looked. But when he understoode that the enemies had given their souldiers for the signall of battell, Minerva and Alexander: then was his first imagination confirmed more then before. Whereuppon, he gave Ceres and Alexander for signall of the battell to his souldiers, and commaunded every man to make them a garlande of wheate eares to weare on their heades, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegayes about their pikes. He was in a minde many times to make his trustiest Captaines privie against whome they should fight, and not alone to trust him selfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this daunger, but to him selfe. Now when he came to geve battell, he would place never a Macedonian directly against Craterus, but set two companies of men of armes that were straungers against him, the which Pharnabazus (Artabazus sonne) and Phœnix Tenidian did lead. Then he specially commaunded, that so soone as they saw the enemies before them, they should straight geve charge, geving them no leasure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or trompet that they should send unto them: for he feared much that the Macedonians would turne against him, if they once came to know Craterus.

Battell betwext Eumenes and Craterus.

Now for him selfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, where he should meete full with Neoptolemus fronte. When they had passed a litle hill that stoode betwene both battells, Eumenes horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full cariere to set apon their enemies. Craterus seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed Neoptolemus that had deceived him in that sorte, informing him that the Macedonians would turne

Digitized by Google

of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shewe them selves like valliant men that day, and therewithall fiercely set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staves being broken, they fell straight to their swordes: but that day did not Craterus dishonor the memory of Alexander, for he slue many of his enemies round about him, valliantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times overthrewe them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of Thracia gave him such a blow on the side, that he turned him of his horse, and when he was downe, many passed over him. But Gorgyas, one of Eumenes Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to garde him: howebeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the very panges of death. Eumenes and Neoptolemus on thother side, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, being a fire with an old malice, they sought up and downe thone for the other. So at the two first courses they could not one light apon thother, but at the third meeting, when they knew one an other, then they set spurres to their horses, their swordes drawen, and with great cries gave charge apon eche other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridells in their horse neckes, closed together, and with both handes strived to plucke of eche others headpeece, and to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing eche other, their horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. Neoptolemus got up first: but as he rose, Eumenes cut the hamme of his legge, and raised him selfe up withall. Neoptolemus staying him selfe apon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended him selfe on the ground the best he could, from Eumenes that was on his feete, but he could geve him no deadly wound: neverthelesse him selfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the grounde. Then Eumenes inflamed with choller against him, went about to strippe him, and fell a reviling of him, and being in that

EUMENES

Craterus death.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

furious moode, remembred not that Neoptolemus had his sword yet, who hurt him under his curaces, even about his groyne, not farre from his privie partes: howebeit the wounde made Eumenes worse afrayed, then there was cause of hurt, for that Neoptolemus strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently apon it. Eumenes having stripped him found him self very ill, (by reason of his woundes) on his armes and legges, which had many a sore gashe: notwithstanding, he got up on his horse againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting still. But there being told that Craterus had his deathes wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet alive, not past knowledge. Then Eumenes lighted from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hande, accursed Neoptolemus that had brought him to that pitiefull state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of his deerest frendes, to make him the instrument of his utter undoing. This second battell Eumenes wanne tenne dayes after the first battell obtained, which got him great honor, for that he had discomfited one of his enemies through wisedome, and the other by valliantnes. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his frendes also that tooke his parte, when they bethought them, that he being a straunger, had with the weapons and power of the Macedonians them selves, slaine the greatest and most famous Captaine among them. Now if Perdiccas had bene so happie, as to have lived and received thadvertisement of Craterus death: no dout he had bene the greatest person of all the Macedonians. But as ill lucke would have it, within two dayes after that Perdiccas was slaine in a mutinie of his men in Egypt, newes came to his army of Eumenes victorie, and also of the death of Craterus. Whereupon the Macedonians were so offended with Eumenes, that incontinently they condemned him to dye, and gave Antigonus and Antipater commission to execute the revenge. When Eumenes passing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and brede of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of advertisement thereof to the kinges ryders: Antipater, as it is

Neoptolemus slaine.

Eumenes victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus.

Digitized by Google

reported, smyled, and in mockerie sayd, that he marveled to see Eumenes great care, to thinke that he should either geve or receive any account of the kinges goodes. So Eumenes thought good to fight in the great plaines of Lydia, especially neere unto the chiefe citie of Sardis, bicause he was the stronger in horsemen, and for that he would make Cleopatra see the power of his armie. Howebeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of Antipater) he went further into hie Phrygia, and wintered in the citie of Celænes. But there Polemon, Alcetas, and Docimus, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, saying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. Eumenes aunswered them, Truely here is even the common saying up and downe: desperate men regard no daunger. Now Eumenes having promised his souldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promesse, solde them all the farmes and castells of that contrie, together with the men and beastes of the same, whereof the province was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenauntes of the bandes having bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through Eumenes engines of battery which he suffred them to carie with him: and having taken them, they went and devided the spoyle, paying every souldier ratably his wages due. This devise brought him againe in favor among his souldiers. For certaine papers being founde in his campe cast abroade by his enemies, promising great offices, and a hundred talents besides to any man that killed Eumenes: the Macedonians that served under him were so offended withall, that they presently set downe an order, that from that time forward a thowsande of the best souldiers amonge them (which also had charge under them) should alwayes garde his person, keeping watche every night about him, as fell out by turnes one after an other. Whereunto they all agreed: and Eumenes gave them those honors and rewardes, which the kinges of Macedon were wont to geve unto their frendes, and which they gladly received. For through their graunt he had authoritie to geve purple clokes and hattes to whom he thought good, which was the honorablest gift the kinge of Macedon could geve. It is true that prosperitie maketh simple men high

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

minded, whereby they seeme (though they be not) very honorable, but specially when fortune hath raised them to honor and wealth. But in deede he that is of a noble minde and stowt corage is best discerned in adversitie: for he never yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by Eumenes. For when he had lost a battell among the Orcynians, in the realme of Cappadocia, through the treason of one of his souldiers: he being pursued, yet never gave the traitor any leasure to flie to his enemies for safety, but tooke him, and trussed him up. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head upon a sodaine, and leaving his enemies side hand of him that had him in chace, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, and held on jornying so long, untill he came to the selfe same plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering up the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them selves, and the souldiers aparte) he burnt them with the dores, gates, and windowes of all the villages and townes thereabouts that he could get together: and in steede of tombes for them, he raised up great heapes of earth. Insomuch as Antigonus comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valliantnes and invincible corage. Removing thence, he met with Antigonus cariage, and might easily without daunger have taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bond, and have gotten all the riches and treasure which they had spoyled in so many sundrie warres, townes, and contries: howbeit he was afrayed that if his souldiers were loden with that spoyle, it would make them more heavy to march, and unable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he trusted to come to end this warre. For he made account that Antigonus in the end would be weary of following him so long a time, and therefore that he would turne some other way. Moreover he perceived, that it was unpossible for him by his authority to keepe the Macedonians from taking so riche a pray, as offred it selfe unto them: whereupon he commaunded them to stay a while, and baite their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he secretly sent a messenger to Menander (who

The constancy of Eumenes in adversity.

Eumenes stratageame.

Digitized by Google

had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all speede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and safe from horsemen, where they could not be environned, and there to fortifie him selfe: sending him word also, that he sent him this advertisement, for the old frendship and acquaintance that had bene betwene them afore. Menander hearing what daunger he was in, made his men trusse up their cariage straight. Thereupon Eumenes openly sent certaine light armed men to discover, and to bring him newes: and therwithall commaunded them to arme, and bridle their horses, as if he had ment to have led them against the enemies. His skowtes were nowe returned, and told him that it was unpossible either to distresse or take Menander, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, and therefore he was not to be come by. Eumenes seemed to be very sory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithstanding. Menander afterwards reported this matter to Antigonus, and the Macedonians that were in his army, who did greatly commend Eumenes, and after that loved him better then ever they did before: bicause that having their children in his hands whom he might have made slaves, and their wives also whom he might have defiled, he spared them al. Howbeit Antigonus to put them out of this humor, told them, Ye are deceived, my frendes: for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that Eumenes tooke not your wives, your children, and your goods, but only for the feare he had to have shackles on his heeles, to let him from speedy flying. So Eumenes departing from thence, fled still before Antigonus, and wandring up and downe, did him selfe wish his souldiers to get them somewhere else, either in deede for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was unwilling to have such a number about him, being too fewe to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of scituacion called Nora, in the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed. And when he was comen thither also, he gave every one leave to depart that asked him licence, bicause they could not have abidden the dis- EUMENES

Digitized by Google

commodity of the place, which was very straight, and the lacke of necessary vittells which they must needes have wanted, if the siege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good words and loving countenaunce. Shortly after came Antigonus before the forte, but would not besiege it, before he sent for Eumenes to come to him apon his word. Eumenes aunswered him, that Antigonus had many of his frendes about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his tribe, and that him selfe on thother side had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore if Antigonus would have him come and speake with him, that he should sende him one of his chiefest frendes in hostage. Againe Antigonus being earnest with him, and telling him it was reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: Eumenes aunswered him, I will acknowledge none better then my selfe, so long as I can hold my sword in my hand. In the end, Antigonus (according to Eumenes request) sent his owne nevew Ptolomy into the forte, and then came Eumenes out. At their meeting they both embraced and saluted eche other, as frendes of old acquaintance and familiaritie: and so fell in talke of divers matters: but all this while Eumenes never once made request to departe in safety, neither yet demaunded pardon, but only desired the confirmation of his charge and government, and that he might be restored to that which was geven him. They that were present at their meeting marveled much at Eumenes, and greatly commended his stowtnes. Now whilest they were thus in talke together, the Macedonians came out of all partes of the campe, to see what maner of man Eumenes was: bicause that after the death of Craterus there was no talke among the Macedonian souldiers, of any Captaine, but of Eumenes. Neverthelesse, Antigonus fearing they would do Eumenes some mischiefe, commaunded them alowde to geve backe, and made stones to be throwen amonge them to keepe them of him. All this notwithstandinge he was fayne in the end to put them of with his gard, and to take Eumenes in his armes, and had much a doe to deliver him safely into his forte againe. After this imparlance, Antigonus com-

Eumenes talke with Antigonus, and magnanimity.

Digitized by Google

passed this forte of Nora round about with a wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continewe the siege, and so went his way with the rest of his army. In the meane time Eumenes remained besieged within this forte, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and salt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor swete of tast, to susteine them with their bread. Yet with such as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them every one after an other sit at his bourde with him, and withall did facion out that manner of dyet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleasaunt devises to entertaine them at their meate. For besides that he sought to shewe them as pleasaunt a countenaunce as he coulde, yet naturally he had a sweete fayer face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained up in it: but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of bodie, that the excellentest workeman that ever was could not better set out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be seene in him. His speeche was not harsh nor churlishe, but very mylde, and pleasaunt, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the siege, there was nothing that more annoyed the besieged, then the narrownes of the forte wherein they were, which was not above two furlonges compasse about, and their houses so litle and narrowe, that they could scant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exercise for them selves, or their horse. Now Eumenes to take away the sluggishnesse that groweth by idlenesse, (a thing most hurtefull to them that are acquainted with travell and paines) to keepe them in breth, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occasion were offered: put his men into the longest and widest hall he had in his house, (being fourteene cubits long to walke up and downe in) and taught them first of all to march fayer and softly, and then by litle and litle to hasten their pace. For the horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, and then did softly trise them up with long pulleyes fastned to the beames: their hindmost feete standing on the ground, and their formost being aloft. The horses being trised up in this maner, their riders came with lowde cries behinde

Eumenes besieged in the forte of Nora.

Eumenes personage and pleasantnes.

Eumenes industry in the siege for marshall exercise.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

them, and some with whippes in their hands to lash them, that the horse being mad withall, yerked out behind, and sprang forward with his formest legges to touch the ground, that they did but even rase it a litle, so as every vaine and sinew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a fome withall, so good an exercise to them it was, as well to put them in breth, as to kepe their legges supple to run. After that, they had their otes very cleane pickt and dressed, that they might disgest them the sooner. Antigonus having long continued this siege, newes came unto him that Antipater was dead in Macedon, and that the realme was in a great broyle, through the factions of Cassander and Polyperchon. Antigonus, whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coveting with him selfe the whole kingdom of Macedon: thought good to make Eumenes his frende, that through his helpe he might attaine his desired purpose. Thereupon he sent Hyeronymus unto him to treate of peace, and gave him the forme of the othe which he would have him sweare unto him. When Eumenes had seene it, he would not be sworne in that maner, but corrected it, and sayd: that he did referre him selfe to the judgement of the Macedonians which kept him besieged, to judge which of those two formes were most meetest: that which Antigonus had sent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in Antigonus forme of othe, there was a litle mencion only made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the rest following, he bound Eumenes particularly to him selfe. But Eumenes in his forme of othe, did first of all put Olympias the mother of kinge Alexander, and the kinges his sonnes afterwardes: and for the rest, he sware he would be frende of the frendes, and enemie of the enemies, not of Antigonus onely, but of the kinges, and of Olympias. The Macedonians being at the siege before Nora, did better like the forme of Eumenes othe, than they did that of Antigonus. So having geven Eumenes his othe, and made him sweare according to that forme: they raised their siege, and sent also unto Antigonus to take his othe. All this accomplished, Eumenes redelivered the Cappadocians their hostages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them,

Digitized by Google

gave him in their steade, horse of warre, beastes of cariage, tentes and pavillions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were dispersed abroade after his overthrowe, so that in fewe dayes he was above a thowsande horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet Antigonus, and he did wisely. For Antigonus had not onely commaunded them to shutte him up againe straighter then he was before: but besides that wrote sharpe letters and verie angrily unto the Macedonians, which had accepted the correction of the othe. Whilest Eumenes wandered up and downe flying still, he received letters from certaine in Macedonia (fearing Antigonus greatnesse) and specially from Olympias: which sent unto him to come into Macedon, to take the charge and government of her young sonne Alexander, whome they sought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewise received letters from Polyperchon and from king Philippe, who commaunded him to make warre with Antigonus with his armie he had in Cappadocia, and to put in his purse of the kinges, five hundred silver talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of Cyndes, and besides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall also they wrote unto Antigenes and Teutamus, the two Captaines of the Argyraspides: to wit, the souldiers with the silver shieldes, or shieldes silvered, which were of the olde bandes of Alexanders armie. These two Captaines havinge received these letters, did use Eumenes with very good wordes, and shewed him great countenaunce: yet a man by their lookes might easily conjecture that they envied him, for either of them both thought them selves men sufficient, and worthie to commaunde Eumenes, not to aide him. Howebeit Eumenes behaved him selfe very wisely. For as touching their envie, he pacified that, bicause he tooke not the money which he was commaunded to take for his owne use, for that he had no neede of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a superstition he layed before them, which was this. He made them beleve that Alexander did appeare to him in his sleepe, and

EUMENES

This was Aridæus, the sonne of Philippe, father of Alexander, whom they had surnamed Philippe.

Eumenes, made king Philippes Lieutenaunt of his army.

Argyraspides. Alexanders souldiers, so called, for their silvered shieldes.

Eumenes temperance.

Eumenes fained devise.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

that he shewed him a pavillion sumptuously sette out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would kepe their councell place in that pavillion, he would be present among them, and ayde them in all their councells and conduct of their warres, so that they would alwayes beginne by him. He easily perswaded Antigenes and Teutamus to beleve that which he spake, who would not goe to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for him selfe to be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set up a goodly rich pavilion, which was called Alexanders pavillion: and there they kept their councells and assemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towardes the hie contries and met with Peucestas on the way, (Eumenes very great frende) who joyned with them, and other great pieres of the realme, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the armie of the noble men of Macedonia, as touching the number of men, and their brave armors and furniture: but for their owne persones, bicause they had no man to commaunde them since the death of Alexander, they were growen selfe willed by dissolute libertie, and effeminate in their maner of life: and moreover they had gotten a tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished and increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but shamefully flattered the old bandes of the Macedonian souldiers, geving them money, and making them bankets and feastes of sacrifices. And thus in shorte time, of a campe they brought it to be a dissolute taverne, where the noble men got the souldiers favor that they might be chosen chieftaines of all the armie: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honorable states and offices of the common wealth. Now Eumenes found straight that these pieres of the realme disdained one an other, howebeit that they all feared and mistrusted him, and sought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore to prevent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupie money, and so borrowed a great summe of

Digitized by Google

them especially, whom he knew most hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the money they had lent him. And thereof followed a straunge thing: for other mens money and goodes, was the safetie of his life. For where others geve money to save their lives, he by taking of money saved his owne life. Now for the souldiers of the Macedonians, whilest they sawe they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they stil hong apon them that gave them, being desirous to be made Generalles: and came every morning to their uprising to waite apon them, and follow them wheresoever they went. But when Antigonus was come to campe hard by them with a great and puisant army, and that their case required then a valliant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the souldiers alone, but all the pieres and states besides, (which in peace did brave it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit them selves unto Eumenes, to be at his commaundement. For when Antigonus assaied all the wayes he could to passe over the river of Pasitigris, the pieres which were layed in divers places to let him from passing over, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but Eumenes onely that resisted him, and fought with him: where he slewe such a number of his men, that he filled the river with them, and tooke foure thowsande of them prisoners. Againe, when Eumenes was sicke, these olde bandes did more plainly shew, what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banket them, and make them good cheere at their houses, yet that Eumenes onely of all other was worthiest to be their Captaine, and to commaunde them. For Peucestas having feasted them in the kingdom of Persia, and geven every souldier a mutton to sacrifice, thought he had wonne great favor and credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, Eumenes by misfortune fell daungerously sicke, and therfore would needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyse, bicause he could take no rest. But they had not gone farre, before they saw their enemies, which having passed over certaine litle hills betwene them, were comming downe

Eumenes wilienesse to winde him selfe out of daunger.

Pasitigris fl.

Eumenes battell with Antigonus, and victorie.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

Antigonus souldiers armed with gilt armors.

into the valley. When the souldiers sawe the glistering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the sunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers apon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates apon their armors: (which was the apparell they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the formest stayed apon it, and cried out, willing them to send for Eumenes to lead them, for they would els goe no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raised their pykes, and layed downe their shieldes at their feete, calling from one to an other to stay, and to their private Captaines also: and told them plainly, that they would not sturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, unlesse Eumenes were among them to lead them. Eumenes hearing of it, came to them with great speede, hastening his slaves and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on every side, he held out his right hand to the souldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The souldiers also so soone as they sawe him, saluted him in the Macedonian tongue, and tooke up their shieldes, clapping them against their pykes with a great showte, bidding their enemies come when they would, they shoulde be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. Antigonus on thother side, being informed by certaine prisoners which his souldiers had taken in skermish, that Eumenes was fallen very sore sicke, and by reason thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he should have no great a doe to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speede he could to fight. But when he came so neere, that he might easily see the order and countenaunce of his enemies, who were set in such good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amended: he was much amased withall, and pawsed a great while, and in the meane time spied Eumenes litter a farre of, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out alowed, as his maner was, and turning him selfe to his frendes, sayd: See, sayd he, I beleve it is that litter that maketh warre with us, and doth offer us battell. But with those wordes,

Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.

Digitized by Google

he sounded the retreate, and brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a litle passed over, the Macedonians fell to their olde trade againe, the pieres to flatter the souldiers, and the souldiers to waxe brave and stowte against their Captaines: so that when they came to take their garrisons for the winter time, they devided in maner among them the whole contrie of the Gabenians, the first from the last being lodged almost a thowsand furlonge of. Which Antigonus understanding, determined to set apon them, they mistrusting nothing. And so went sodainly towards them, by a shorter way then that he had already commen, but the worser way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus dispersed asunder, their Captaines could not readily assemble them all together. But while he was in this his jorney, in the desert crooked way, he was so overtaken, and with such boysterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his souldiers could go no further, but were forced to tary stil, to provide them present remedy against the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knewe of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines towardes the desert, being amased to see such a number of fires in the valley, sent presently with speede apon two camells light loden, to advertise Peucestas, who being neerest unto the mountaine was so scared with these newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to doe. For, seeing his other companions as much afrayed as him selfe, he fled apon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But Eumenes quieted this great feare, assuring them that he would stay the sodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three dayes later than they looked for: which they beleved. Then did Eumenes sende messengers into every quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them speedily to put their men in readinesse, and to meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him selfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to choose a fit grounde to lodge a campe, the which might easily be seene from the toppe of the mountaines, which they must passe

EUMENES

Eumenes stratageame against Antigonus.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

that come from the desert: and there fortified the same with trenches, and devided it out into quarters, making fire in every place, such a distance of one from an other, as they use commonly to make in a campe. It was no sooner done, but Antigonus came to the toppe of the mountaines, and sawe these fires a farre of, which grieved him much: for he thought that his enemies had longe before knowen of his comming, and that they came against him. Being afrayed therfore least his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freshe apon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comminge through that desert contrie: he tooke his way to lead backe his armie, not the neerest way by the which he came, but through the contry richly inhabited and replenished with great cities and good townes, to refreshe his overwearied people. Yet seeing he had none alaroms geven, nor any skermishes offered him, (as they use commonly when both armies are neere together) and that the valley men told him that they had seene none other armie but his, saving that round about there was store of fires: then he straight mistrusted that it was one of Eumenes stratageames of warre, wherewith he had deceived him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to steale apon him, but to put all to the hasard of a battell. But in the meane time, the most parte of the hoast was gathered about Eumenes, for the great estimacion every man had of his wisdom and sufficiency: insomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he only as their Lieutenaunt generall should commaund the whole army. This spited the two Captaines of the Argyraspides, Antigenes and Teutamus, who bare him such an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practised his death: and assembling together with many of the states and particular Captaines, they sat in councell to know when, and in what sorte they should kill him. Howbeit the most voices assembled in this councell, were whole of opinion, that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the battel, and that immediatly after they should put him to death. This being thus resolved apon,

Envy the companion of vertue.

Eumenes death conspired.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

Eudamus Captaine of the Elephants, and an other called Phædimus, went secretly and told Eumenes what they had concluded apon in the assembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they sought to pleasure him, but only bicause they were afrayed to loose the money they had lent him. Eumenes gave them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it unto his best frendes, and tolde them: You see howe I am environned with a troupe of wilde and brutishe beastes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and wrytinges that had bene sent him, bicause he would not have them suffer for him after his death, that had sent him secret advertisementes. Afterwardes when he had disposed of all his private matters in this sorte, he stoode in a doute whether he shoulde lose the battell geving his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into Cappadocia, through Media and Armenia. Howebeit he resolved of nothing before his frendes. But when the mischiefe he was in had put divers thoughtes into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did set his army in battell ray, perswading the Græcians as well as the barbarous people to stand to it like men. And as for the olde souldiers of the Macedonians, they so litle needed exhortation, that they them selves did exhorte Eumenes to be of good corage, saying: that their enemies would never abide them, bicause they were all the oldest souldiers, and of greatest experience, that had bene in all the conquestes of kinge Philippe, and of his sonne Alexander, and that it was never heard that they had bene overthrowen in any sette battell, the most of them being three score and tenne yeares olde, and the youngest no lesse then three score. Whereupon, when they ranne with great furie to geve charge apon their enemies, they cried out alowde speaking to the souldiers of the Macedonians that were under Antigonus: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And so assailing them with a lustie corage, and in a rage withall, in a shorte space overthrew the squadron of their enemies, and slue the most parte of them in the fielde. Thus was Antigonus armie cleane overthrowen on that side: but on thother side where his men of

Eumenes tare all his frendes letters to kepe them out of trouble.

The old band of the Macedonians, were every man 60 yeare old and most above.

Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

armes were, through Peucestas cowardlinesse (that handeled him selfe very ill at that battell) he had the upper hande, and wanne all their cariage, through his foresight in the greatest furie of the battell, and the strength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a marvelous great plaine of length, neither too depe, nor yet to hard underfoote, but covered over with a small fine sand, much like to the drie sand the sea casteth up, and leaveth apon the shore. This sand being scattered abroade by riding and going to and fro of so many thowsandes of men and horses during the time of the battell foughten, had raised such a mightie dust and white smoke in the element, as if they had sturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their sight so sore, as they could see nothing before them: in respect whereof Antigonus might easily sease all their cariage, them selves being never a whit the wiser. The battell being come to this passe you have heard, Teutamus sent presently unto Antigonus, to pray him to redeliver them their cariage againe, which he had taken and caried into his campe. Antigonus made him aunswere, that he would not only redeliver the goodes unto the Argyraspides, but would moreover use them with all the favor he could, so farre foorth as they delivered Eumenes into his handes. Whereupon the Argyraspides tooke presently a wicked resolution, to deliver him alive into the handes of his enemies. And with that determination they came neere unto him, not makinge any countenaunce as though they would lay handes on him, but rather seeming to garde and defend his persone as their manner was: some of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others accusing the noble men of cowardlines, saying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of them having spied his time, flew to him, and tooke his sword out of his hande: the others straight layed hold of him, and bound both his handes behinde him with his owne girdle. Antigonus understanding it, sent Nicanor thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then Eumenes having made request unto them to suffer him to speake, as they

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraspides.

Digitized by Google

brought him through the bandes of these olde Macedonian souldiers: it was graunted him with condicion, that he should make no motion unto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, but to tell them of thinges, which (as he sayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereuppon silence being made, he got up apon a litle hillocke, and there spake unto them, putting forth his hands being bound: 'O 'wretched and faithlesse men, the wickedest that ever 'Macedon bred. What so great triumphe, or victorie, hath 'ever Antigonus wonne of you, having sought it such infinite 'waye: and you your selves doe now put into his handes, 'delivering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will 'not this be to your great shame, that being masters of 'the fielde, you will graunt the honor of the victory unto 'your enemy, only for a litle covetousnes of money and 'paltry stuffe which you have lost? And yet is not this 'all, but the worst behinde: to send your Captaine as you 'do to pay the ransome of your baggage. For my selfe, 'though now they lead me bound, yet doe I remaine free 'unovercome, vanquisher of mine enemies, and sold by them 'that should be my frendes. Well, yet this request I onely 'make unto you, in the name of Iupiter, protector of armes, 'and for the honor of the goddes, (unto whom all vowed 'othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and conjure you, 'to kill me your selves in this place. For all commeth 'to one end. To be slaine in Antigonus campe by the 'hands of mine owne enemies, will ever be counted your 'deede: and you may be assured he will not be angrie with-'all, for he only desireth Eumenes death, and not his life. 'If you will needes hold your hands from this attempt, un-'lose yet one of mine only: that shall suffice to doe the 'feate. And if for feare ye will not put a sword in my 'hande, throw me bound yet hands and feete unto wilde 'beastes: which if ye performe, then doe I discharge you of 'your othe taken betwene both my handes, which ye have 'sworne unto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly per-'formed.' Apon this speeche of Eumenes, all the rest of the army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the Argyraspides cried out to cary him away,

The oration of Eumenes to the traitors Argyraspides his souldiers.

Digitized by Google

EUMENES

and not to geve eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deede to punishe this wicked Cherronesian, according to his desertes, considering that he had turmoyled the Macedonians with endlesse warre and battell. And moreover, that it were too much shame that the worthiest souldiers that ever served kinge Philippe and Alexander, so painfully in all their warres, should for recompence of their service in their olde age be turned a begging, their wives having now lyen three nightes with their enemies. With those wordes, they violently drave him on towardes Antigonus campe, who fearing least the multitude of people that ranne to see him, would smother him in the prease, bicause every man ranne out of the campe: he sent thither tenne of the strongest Elephantes he had, and a good number of men of armes of the Medes and Parthians, to make way for him in the prease. When Eumenes was now come into Antigonus campe, his hart would not serve him to see him in that miserable state, for that they had once bene familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their custodie, came to Antigonus to aske him, how he would have him kept. Who aunswered them: Like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and discharged him of his weightiest irons, and sent one of his household servaunts to him to see him well used, and suffered his frendes to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did Antigonus deferre many dayes, before he would determine ought of Eumenes, hearing every man speake, and pondering their purposes and severall opinions. Nearchus Cretan, and his owne sonne Demetrius spake for Eumenes, and made sute to save his life, contrarie to all the other Lordes and Captaines that were about Antigonus, who would in any case have him dye. Eumenes standing in these termes, asked his keeper Onomarchus one day, what Antigonus ment, that having his enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or noblely deliver him? Onomarchus churlishly aunswered him againe, that the time was past nowe to shewe his corage, as though he feared not death: and that he should have shewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me Iupiter (quod he) so have I done, and if thou belevest

Antigonus answer for the keping of Eumenes being prisoner.

The noble minde of Eumenes.

Digitized by Google

not me, aske them that set apon me: for I never met with man yet more strong then my selfe. Onomarchus replied againe: Sith now therefore thou hast found a stronger than thy selfe, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when Antigonus had resolved of his death, he commaunded them to geve him no more meate: and thus taking his sustenaunce from him, Eumenes was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came such newes, that sodainely the campe removed: and therefore before their departure, a man was sent to Eumenes to dispatche him out of his paine. Antigonus licensed his frends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his ashes and bones to send them to his wife and children. Eumenes being slaine in this manner, the gods appointed none other judges to revenge the disloyaltie and treason of the Argyraspides and their Captaines, for betraying of Eumenes, but Antigonus selfe: who detestinge them as cruell murderers, and perjured persones to the goddes, appointed Ibyrtius Governor of the province of Arachosia, to kill them everie mothers sonne what way he coulde, that none of them might ever see Macedon againe, nor the Greekishe sea.

The death of Eumenes.

The just reward of treason.

THE COMPARISON OF EUMENES WITH SERTORIUS

HERE have we set downe the thinges worthie memorie of Eumenes and Sertorius. Nowe to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being straungers in a straunge contrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes bene Captaines of divers nations, and chiefetaines of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to Sertorius, that all those of his faction gave him the chiefest place of authoritie, as the most sufficientest

Digitized by Google

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES

man among them, and worthiest to commaund: where Eumenes having many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be governed by a good Captaine: and for their owne safety gave place to the other, seeing them selves unable to commaund. For Sertorius being a Romane, governed the Spanyards and Lusitanians: and Eumenes a Cherronesian, the Macedonians. Of the which, the Spanyards of long time had bene subject to the Empire of Rome: and the Macedonians at that time had subdued all the worlde. Furthermore, Sertorius beinge then of great estimation for that he was a Senatour of Rome, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity and estate to be chiefetaine of a great army. Where Eumenes came with small reputacion, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only lesse meanes to preferre him then Sertorius had, but greater lets and impedimentes also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly stoode against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as Sertorius, whom no man contraried from the beginning, untill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore Sertorius ende of all his daungers, was to overcome his enemies: where Eumenes greatest daungers came through his victories, which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that envied his honor. Nowe for their deedes of armes, they are both in maner alike: but on thother side for their conditions, Eumenes naturally loved warre and contention: and Sertorius imbraced peace and quietnes. For, Eumenes that might have lived in safety with honor, if he would but have geven place to his betters, and forsaken the warres: liked better with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates, with the greatest personages of Macedon, and in the end so came to his death. Sertorius contrarily being unwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the safetie of his person to take armes against them, that would not let him live in peace. For had not Eumenes bene so ambitious and stowte

The government of Eumenes and Sertorius.

The deedes and conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius compared.

Digitized by Google

to strive against Antigonus for the chiefest place of authoritie, but could have bene contented with the seconde, Antigonus would have bene right glad thereof: where Pompey would never so much as suffer Sertorius to live in rest. So, the one made voluntary warre onely to rule, and the other against his wil was compelled to rule, bicause they made warres with him. Wherby it appeareth that Eumenes naturally loved warre, preferringe the covetous desire of a better estate, above the safety of his life: and the other as a right souldier, used the warres only for a meane to save his life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was slaine, mistrusting no treason against him: and the other, looking every hower for present death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to mistrust them whom he thought his frendes: and the other shewed a faint hart, being taken when he ment to flie. So Sertorius death dishonored not his life, suffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could never make him suffer. The other having no power to avoide his destinie before he was taken, and having sought meanes to live being in prison and captivitie: could neither paciently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gave him his hart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES

Sertorius death more honest, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of Zeuxidamus, having honorably reigned in Lacedæmon, left two sonnes behind him: Agis which he begate of that noble Lady Lamprido, and Agesilaus a great deale younger, which he had by Eupolia, Melisippidas daughter. So the kingdom falling by succession unto Agis the elder, the younger sonne Agesilaus remaining a private person, was brought

The parentage of Agesilaus.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

The instruction of Agesilaus.

up after the Laconian manner, which was a straight kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Wherof it is thought the Poet Simonides calleth Sparta, Damasimbrotos: to wit, making men civill: for that by continuance of custome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much, or more, than any other city that ever was in the world, taming them from their childhoode, as they doe young coltes. The law dispenseth with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that straight subjection and hard life: but Agesilaus had that excellencie in him above all others of his estate, that he came to the dignity and honor to commaund, having from his youth learned to obey. The which undoutedly was the cause, that he knewe better than any other king, howe to please and beare with his subjectes, helping his royall estate and princely behavior, grafted in him by nature, with that curtesie and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought up together, Lysander fell in love with him, wondering at the modesty of his wit. For having better spirite, and being more constant in his opinion, then any of the other children, striving ever to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he tooke all travells in hande, that it was unpossible to overcome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on thother side so milde and gentle, that every curteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: bicause it grieved him more to be reproved, then to take upon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasaunt wit, he used the matter so pleasauntly and paciently, that he would merily mocke him selfe: which maner of mery behavior did greatly hide the blame of the bleamish. Yea further, his life and corage was the more commendable in him, for that men sawe that notwithstanding his lamenes, he refused no paines nor labor. Of his person we have drawen no counterfeate, bicause he woulde not in any wise have it drawen, and did expressely commaund by his will, that they should neither draw his picture, nor make any mowld or image of his body. Howbeit we finde

Agesilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.

The modestie of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus lamenes.

Digitized by Google

that he was of small stature, wherby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was ever mery and pleasaunt, and never pensive nor troublesome in word nor looke, even to the last ende of his life he was better loved, then the most fayer creature that lived. Notwithstanding, the Ephori (as Theophrastus writeth) did condemne king Archidamus in a summe of money bicause he maried a litle woman: saying that he would beget them demy kings, no kinges in deede. In the time that his eldest sonne Agis raigned king, Alcibiades being banished Athens, fled out of Sicile into Lacedæmon, and had not long remained in Sparta before they suspected him, that he kept king Agis wife, called Timæa: for which cause Agis would not acknowledge the childe she brought to be his sonne, saying that Alcibiades had begotten him. But Timæa cared not much for it, as Duris wryteth: for otherwhile as she sate amongest her women, softly she called him Alcibiades, not Leotychides. On thother side they reporte, that Alcibiades him selfe sayd, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene Timæa, but only for the desire he had that some of the kinges of Lacedæmon should be begotten of his seede. Nevertheles at the length he was driven to forsake Lacedæmon, mistrusting king Agis, who ever after douted of the childe, and thought him a bastard: untill such time as being on his death bed, Leotychides falling on his knees, wept, and so behaved him selfe, that Agis before many witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king Agis was dead, Lysander that had then overcomen the Athenians by sea, and was more in credit and authority in the city of Sparta, than any other: practised to put the crowne apon Agesilaus head, saying, that Leotychides had no interest unto it, bicause he was a bastard. The like did divers other citizens say of him, which loved Agesilaus vertue, and liked him passingly, for that he had bene brought up from his childhood among them. But on the contrary parte also, there was a Soothsayer or wisard in Sparta, called Diopithes, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and divinations.

Alcibiades committeth adultery with kinge Agis wife.

Agesilaus created king, through Lysanders meanes.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS
A lame king.

He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for proofe thereof he told this auncient oracle before the counsell:

> As stately as thy stomake is O Sparta take good heede,
> And stand upon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.
> For halting one day downe will cast thine Empire to the ground,
> By meane of warres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afrayed of this oracle, they should rather beware of Leotychides. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aspired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of Hercules. For that, sayd he, were to make the kingdom halte. Agesilaus furthermore alleaged, that the god Neptune him selfe had witnessed, that Leotychides was a bastard: for he drave Agis by an earthquake, to runne out of his wives chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, Leotychides was borne. So was Agesilaus apon these allegacions not onely proclaimed king of Sparta, but he had geven him moreover, as lawful heire, all his brother Agis goods, and Leotychides rejected as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his mothers side were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moyty of all the goodes: by which act, Agesilaus wanne all their good willes, where else they had envied him for his succession in the kingdom. And (as Xenophon sayth) by obeying his contrie, he grew to such power that he might doe whatsoever he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the sway and government of the common wealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, for that they should not (as we have more amply wrytten in Lycurgus life) have absolute power in their handes. Uppon this occasion, the kinges that succeeded in the government, had (as it were) by inheritaunce, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, Agesilaus tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors.

Agesilaus proclaimed king, and Leotychides a bastard.

Ephori were certaine officers authorised to controwle the kinges insolency and injustice if any were by them used.

Digitized by Google

For where others presently quarelled with the Ephori and Senatours, Agesilaus did honor and reverence them, and would never dispatche any matter without their privity, but was alwayes ready to goe when they did send him. When he was set in his chaier of state to geve audience, if any of the Ephori chaunsed to come in, he would rise up unto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors sake present him a gowne, and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senatours, winning their good wills, he made his power great, and the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behavior towards the rest of his contrymen was such, as his enmity was lesse faulty then his frendship. For he did never hurt his enemies without just cause, but he aided his frends even in unjust causes. And wheras he thought it a shame not to honor enemies, when they had done well: he could not finde in his hart to rebuke his frendes when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succoring and helping of them in their evill doings. For he thought it no shame to serve his frendes turne, howsoever it were. Againe, when any of his adversaries offended, he was as sory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hartes of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in mony for that he made the common love of his contrie private to him selfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all thinges should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betwene the worlde and them: even so, the lawemaker of Lacedæmon seemeth to have allowed ambition and strife in the common wealth, as a spurre to vertue, by procuring alwayes some contencion and emulacion amonge great persones. And his reason was that this base and effeminate favor, in winking one at an other, when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concorde. And sure some thinke that Homer also saw the same, for he would never else have made Agamemnon to have rejoyced to see Ulysses and Achilles at

Agesilaus, an uprighter enemy, than a frend.

Whether contention among the nobility be profitable in a common wealth.

Digitized by Google

 great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that envy and contencion among great men, were very available for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great daungers with them. Nowe when Agesilaus was entred into his kingdome of Lacedæmon, newes were brought him out of Asia, that the king of Persia prepared a great navy to conquer the Lacedæmonians signory by sea. Lysander being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent againe into Asia to succour his frends whom he had left there as Governors and Lieutenants of cities and provinces (of the which, some of them were driven away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority and ruling overcruelly:) perswaded Agesilaus to goe into Asia, to make warre apon this barbarous king, farre from Græce, before his army were gathered together. And to compasse this the easilier, he wrote unto his frends in Asia that they should send unto Sparta, to require Agesilaus for their Captaine, and so they did. Thereupon Agesilaus going to the assembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would geve him thirtie Captaines of the Spartans to be counsellers and assistants to him in these warres, two thowsand free Ilotes, and six thowsand of the confederates of Lacedæmon. All this was immediatly graunted through Lysanders frendshippe towards him, and he was sent away straight with the thirty Captaines which he had requested: of the which Lysander was the chiefest, not only for his riches and authoritie, but also for the good will he bare unto Agesilaus: who thought him selfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his frendship he shewed him in bringing him to be king. Now Agesilaus army being assembled at the haven of Geræste, him selfe with certaine of his frends went unto the citie of Aulide, where in his sleepe he drempt that one sayd unto him: O king of the Lacedæmonians, thou knowest that never none but Agamemnon, and now thy selfe, was chosen Generall of all Greece, considering therefore that thou commaundest the same people he did, that thou makest warres with the selfe

Agesilaus jorney into Asia.

Agesilaus dreame in Aulide.

Digitized by Google

same enemies, departing from the selfe same place to goe thither, it is reason that thou make the selfe same sacrifice unto the goddesse, the which he made at his like departure. Agesilaus straight apon this vision, remembred that Agamemnon through the perswasion of the Soothsayers did sacrifice his owne daughter in the same place. Yet this made him not afrayed, but the next day he told it to his frendes, and said he would sacrifice that unto the goddesse, which he thought woulde please her well enough, and that he would not followe that cruell devotion of this auncient Captaine Agamemnon. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commaunded his Soothsayer to sacrifice her: and would not suffer him to have the honor to doe the sacrifice, that was appointed for the same purpose by the Governors of Bœotia, according to the custome of that place. The Governors of Bœotia understanding it, were much offended, and sent their officers to will Agesilaus not to doe any sacrifice there, contrarie to the law and custome of their contrie. The officers that were sent, performed their commission: and finding that the beast was slaine, and the quarters of it apon the aulter, they tooke and flong them of the aulter every way. This vexed Agesilaus being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choller against the Thebans, and mistrusted much his good successe by this unluckie prediction, which seemed to prognosticate unto him, that he should not prevaile according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arrived at Ephesus, he presently misliked the honor he saw done unto Lysander, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the contriemen there repaired continually to his house, that when he came abroade, they all followed him whersoever he went: as though Lysander had in deede bene in authority to doe what he would, and that Agesilaus only had but the name to be general, so appointed by the law of Lacedæmon. For in troth there was never Græcian Captaine in those partes that had won him such estimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was never man that was more beneficial to his frends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these thinges being fresh in memorie, the

Lysanders glory diminished.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS contriemen of that contrie perceiving the simplicity of Agesilaus, and howe he was geven to please the people, and caried no great majestie nor countenaunce with him, and observing in Lysander that wonted roughnes and sharpe speech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: every man obeied him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. This first of all made the other Spartans angrie, for that it appeared they were come as it were to serve Lysander, and not as to counsell the king: but after that, Agesilaus him selfe also grew miscontented, although of his owne nature he was not envious nor sorie to see others honored besides him selfe. Yet being a man ambitiously geven, and of a noble corage, fearing if he should doe any noble exployt in this warre, that they would impute it unto Lysander, for the great estimation he was of: he first beganne to deale in this sorte with him. First he contraried all his counsells: and what matters soever he preferred, which he was desirous should have taken effect, Agesilaus would none of that, but tooke some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of Lysanders followers came to make sute to him for his favor, perceiving that they did leane unto Lysander: he sent them away without any thing done for them. In like case also in matters of judgements, if Lysander were against any, they were sure to have the matter passe on their side. On the contrarie parte also, if Lysander bare good will to the partie, and favored the cause to gratifie him: they hardly escaped from setting a fine of their heades. Agesilaus continuing these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: Lysander looking into the cause, dissembled not with his frendes, but told them plainly that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wronges, and therefore did counsell them to waite apon the king, and those that had more credit then him selfe. Now Agesilaus supposed he gave that advise to make every man to malice him: wherfore, to despite him the more, he made him distributer of his vittells, (and having done so) some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: Nowe let them goe and honor my flesh distributer. Lysander being grieved withall, sayd unto the king: My

Agesilaus grudge unto Lysander.

See the life of Lysander.

Digitized by Google

Lord, you know how to oppresse your frendes. And so doe I, sayd Agesilaus, how to keepe them under, that would be greater than my selfe. It may be yet, replied Lysander, I have not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceive of me, put me I beseeche you in some place of charge or office, where I may doe you good service without offence. After this talke betwene them, Agesilaus sent him into Hellespont, where by practise he tooke prisoner a noble man a Persian, called Spithridates, out of Pharnabazus province whereof he was Governor, and brought him to Agesilaus with a great summe of golde and silver, and neere about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgate not his grudge to Agesilaus, but being offended stil, sought oportunitie and meanes to defeate the two houses of the privilege of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of Sparta: and surely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of Sparta, had he not bene prevented by death, in a jorney he made into Bœotia. Thus we see, that ambitious mindes observing no meane, are in a common weale ofttimes more hurtfull, than beneficiall. For though Lysander was in deede intollerable, to shew him selfe so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not Agesilaus ignoraunt neither, that there were divers other meanes lesse reprochful to punish such a noble man, that offended only by gredines of honor. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe passion: the one not to know his Princes power, and the other not to beare with his frendes imperfection. Now Tisaphernes at the first being afrayed of Agesilaus, made league with him, colourably letting him understand that the king would be content to set the cities of Græce in Asia at liberty. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed warre. Agesilaus was very well content withall: for thexpectation was great of him through all Græce, that he would doe some noble exployt in this jorney. Moreover he thought him selfe dishonored for ever, that the tenne thowsande Græcians which were returned backe from the furthest parte of Asia, even unto the sea Major (under the conduct and leading of Xenophon their

Ambitious heades are very daungerous in a common wealth.

Agesilaus dedes in Asia, and the falsehood of Tisaphernes.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

Captaine) had overcome the king of Persiaes army as oft as they listed them selves: and that he which was the Lieutenaunt generall of the Lacedæmonians (who at that time commaunded both sea and lande) should not doe some deede worthie memorie among the Græcians. Presently therefore to revenge Tisaphernes perjurie by just deceit, he made a countenaunce as though he would first invade the contrie of Caria. Whereuppon, this barbarous person Tisaphernes, gathered all his power together. But Agesilaus on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into Phrygia, tooke there many cities, and wanne great spoyle, making his men see by experience, that to infringe and breake a league made and avowed by othe, was a sacriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On thother side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only just and honorable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now Agesilaus being weaker in horsemen than his enemy, and finding the livers of the beastes which he had sacrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of Ephesus, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the richmen understand (which would not them selves serve in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for service in their place.

Agesilaus craft.

Many of them tooke that course, and by this meanes Agesilaus within few dayes had leavied a great number of men of armes, in steade of footemen that could doe small service. For they that were unwilling to goe to the warres, did hier them that were willing to serve in their place: and such also as would not serve a horsebacke, did geve them pay that were desirous to serve in their steades. In this he wisely followed king Agamemnons example, who did dispense with the person of a riche coward for going to the warres, by taking a good mare of him. Then Agesilaus had commaunded them that sold the prisoners by the dromme taken in the warres, that they should strippe them naked, and so sell them: which they did. And sundry persons willingly bought their spoyles and rayment, but they scorned their bodies, bicause they sawe them white skinned, soft, and delicate: so that fewe men would out bid the price for them, for that they thought those men unprofitable and good for

Digitized by Google

nothing. Agesilaus also being present at this sale of purpose, sayd thus unto his men: See, my frendes, quod he: these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoyles for the which ye shall fight. Time being come now to put him selfe into the field, and to invade his enemies contry againe, he gave it out that he would enter Lydia, not meaning to deceive Tisaphernes againe, but Tisaphernes deceived him selfe. For he being deceived before by Agesilaus, gave no credit to this second rumor, but perswaded him selfe that doutlesse Agesilaus ment then to enter into Caria, and the rather for that it was a woddie contrie, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, Agesilaus invading (as he had geven it out) the champion contry, in the which stoode Sardis, the capitall city of Lydia: Tisaphernes was compelled to come to reskue it in hast, and being come thither with great speede with his horsemen, he stale apon many of his enemies whom he found straggling out of order, spoyling the contrie, and put the most of them to the sword. Agesilaus having intelligence of this, imagined with him selfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, and considering also that he had his army whole about him: thought it best forthwith to bid him battel, rather then to delay time any lenger. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footemen, and commaunded them straight to charge the enemy, whilest he caused the heavier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled apon it immediatly: and the Græcians lustely following the chase, tooke their campe, and made great slaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leasure enough not only to spoyle and overrun the kinges contry at their pleasure, but also to see the revenge taken of Tisaphernes, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemie to the Græcians. For the king of Persia made an other his Lieutenaunt immediatly in his roome, called Tithraustes: who strake of Tisaphernes head, and sent unto Agesilaus to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of golde and silver to departe out of his contrie. Thereto Agesilaus aunswered, that for peace, it

AGESILAUS

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

Agesilaus victory of Tisaphernes.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS was not in him to make it, but in the Lacedæmonians: and that for his owne parte, it was an easier matter to enriche his souldiers, than him selfe. And furthermore, that the Græcians thought it dishonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then spoyles. This notwithstanding, to gratifie Tithraustes somewhat, for that he had taken revenge of a common enemy of all the Græcians: for the summe of thirtie talentes geven him to defray his charges, he withdrue his army out of Lydia, and went into Phrygia. In his jorney he received from the counsell of Lacedæmon, the Scytala, or scrolle of parchement wreathed about, advertising him that the citizens had made him also their Generall by sea, as he was by lande. Agesilaus onely of all men obtained this honor, who without comparison was of all other the worthiest man of fame in his time, as Theopompus witnesseth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, than for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was to be blamed, when he made choyse of one Pisander his wives brother, to be Lieutenaunt of the navy, and forsooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: seeking rather to please his wife, and to advaunce one of his kinne, than to regarde the weale and safety of his contrie. Afterwardes he led his army into Pharnabazus contrie which he had in charge, where he founde not onely plenty of all sortes of vittells, but gathered together also a wonderfull masse of money. From thence he went into the realme of Paphlagonia, and made league there with kinge Cotys: who for his vertue and constant fidelity, was very desirous of his frendship. The like did Spithridates, forsaking Pharnabazus, and came unto Agesilaus: and after he was come to him, he never went from him, but alwayes followed him wheresoever he went. Spithridates had a young sonne that was passing faier, called Megabetes, (of whom Agesilaus had great liking) and likewise a fayer young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom Agesilaus caused king Cotys to marry. So, taking of king Cotys a thowsand horsemen and two thowsand footemen light armed, he returned backe into Phrygia, and there destroyed Pharnabazus contrie which he had in government, who durst not meete him in

Agesilaus made Generall of all the Lacedæmonians navy.

Cotys king of Paphlagonia, became Agesilaus frend.

Digitized by Google

the fielde, nor trust to his holdes, but still fled from him, carying all his chiefest thinges with him, flitting from place to place: untill that Spithridates, accompanied with Erippidas the Spartan, followed him so neere, that he tooke his campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did Erippidas shewe him selfe so hard and cruell, overstraightly searching out parte of the spoyle that had bene imbeaceled, compelling the barbarous people to deliver it againe, ransacking every corner for it: that Spithridates was so offended withall, that on a sodaine he tooke the Paphlagonians with him, and went backe unto the citie of Sardis. This more grieved Agesilaus, than any thing that happened to him in all his jorney: for that he had lost so valliant a man as Spithridates, and such a number of good souldiers as he caried away with him. Moreover, he was afrayed least they would detect him of miserable covetousnes, a thing which he ever was carefull to avoid, not onely in his owne persone, but also to keepe all his contriemen from it. But besides these knowen causes, the love he bare to Spithridates sonne pinched him neerely: though when the boy was with him, he strived with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection and desire he had of him. For when Megabates on a time came to make much of him, and to kisse him: Agesilaus turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloofe of. Agesilaus then repenting him that he had not suffered Megabates to kisse him, made as though he marveled why he did not kisse him as he was wont to doe. Then aunswered some of his familliars about him: Your selfe, O king, is in faulte, bicause you durst not tarie, but were afrayed to kisse so fayer a boy. For if he knewe your minde, he would come againe, so that you turned your face no more away. When Agesilaus had heard them, he pawsed a while, and said never a word, but in fine aunswered them: It shall not neede you say any thing to him, for it would doe me more good I could refuse such an other kisse againe, then if all that I see before me were golde. Thus was Agesilaus disposed when Megabates was with him: but in his absence he did so love him, that I dare scantly say, that if the boy had

Agesilaus drave Pharnabazus out of his tentes.

Digitized by Google

come againe into his presence, he would have refused a kisse at his hands. After that, Pharnabazus sought to speake with him, and one Apollophanes a Cyzicenian brought them together, that was a frende unto them both. Agesilaus was the first that met at the place appointed with his frends, and tarying for Pharnabazus comming, he layed him downe upon the depe grasse in the shadow, under a fayer great tree.

The meeting of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

Pharnabazus also came thither, and they spred soft skinnes long heared, and tapestry excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to sit on apon the grounde. But being ashamed to see Agesilaus laied on the bare grounde in that sorte, he also lay downe by him, though he had uppon him a marvelous riche gowne, of excellent tissue and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, Pharnabazus began first to speake, and lacked no good perswasions and just complaints, for that he having bene (as he was) a frende unto the Lacedæmonians in the warre against the Athenians, was then spoyled and sacked by them. Agesilaus then finding that the Spartans that were about him at that meting, hong downe their heades for shame, not knowing how to aunswere him, considering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him: began to speake in this maner:

Agesilaus wordes unto Pharnabazus.

Heretofore when we were frendes with the king (my Lord Pharnabazus) we have used his goodes like frends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we use them: and sence we see that thou wilt needes be a slave of his, marvell not though we hurt thee for his sake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a frend of the Græcians, then a slave to the king of Persia: then make account, that all these souldiers, this armor, our shippes, and all we are to defend thy goodes and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon Pharnabazus told him his minde plainly: Surely, sayd he, if the king doe sende hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenaunt, be sure I will then take your parte straight. But on thother side, if he make me his Lieutenaunt, in this warre, trust to it, I will do him the best service I can against you. This aunswere passingly pleased Agesilaus, who taking him by the hand, and rising up with him, sayd unto

Digitized by Google

him: I would wish (my Lord Pharnabazus) having so noble a minde as thou hast, that thou were rather our frend, then an enemy. So Pharnabazus departing from thence with his men, his sonne being left behinde, ranne to Agesilaus, and smiling told him: King Agesilaus, I will make thee my frend: and therewith gave him a dart he had in his hande. Agesilaus tooke it of him, and liking well the beawtie of the young youth, and the curtesie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his secretarie Adæus horse, which had a rich caparisson on: he straight tooke it from him, and gave the horse and furniture to this lively youth Pharnabazus sonne, who never after forgate it. For it chaunsed afterwardes that being driven out of his contrie by his brethren, and flying into Peloponnesus, Agesilaus made very much of him, and did not sticke to further him in his love abroade. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of Athens, whome they brought up in wrestling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was growen a bigge man and strong, and that he came to offer him selfe to be billed with them that should wrastle at the games Olympicall, being in some perill to be utterly refused: this Persian that loved him, went unto Agesilaus, and besought his helpe, that this wrastler might not receive the foyle to be rejected. Agesilaus being desirous to pleasure him, performed his request with some difficultie. Thus Agesilaus in all thinges else was a straight observer of the law: but in his frendes causes to be straight laced in matters of justice, he sayd that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their frendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his wrytten unto Idrian, Prince of Caria, for the deliverie of his frende: If Nicias have not offended, lette him goe: if he have offended, then pardon him for my sake. But howsoever it be, let him goe. This was Agesilaus manner in the most parte of his frends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driven to remove in haste on a sodaine, and to leave one sicke behinde him whome he

Agesilaus to his frendes, was without respect a frend.

Agesilaus letter in the behalfe of his frend.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS loved deerelie: the sicke man callinge him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he would not forsake him. Agesilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reporteth) turned backe againe, and sayed: O howe hard is it both to love, and to be wise. Nowe had Agesilaus spent two yeares in this warre, and was spoken of throughout Asia, beinge marvelously commended to the kinge him selfe, for his great honestie, his continencie, his curtesie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the contrie with his owne trayne onely, he would ever lye in the holyest temples of the goddes: bicause he woulde the goddes them selves shoulde be witnesses of his private doinges, whereas commonly we are lothe that men shoulde see what we doe. Furthermore, amongest so many thowsande souldiers as were in his campe, there coulde hardlie be founde a worse mattrisse, then that him selfe did lye apon everie night. And as for heate and colde, he coulde as easilie awaie with either of both, as if by constitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide anie weather and season. But above all, it was a pleasaunt sight to the Græcians that dwelt in Asia, when they sawe the great Lordes, the kinges Lieutenauntes of Persia, (which before were prowde, cruell, riche, and geven to all lust and pleasure) to honor and feare a man that went up and downe in a poore cape, beinge afrayed of everie shorte worde that he spake like a Laconian: insomuch as many of them called to minde Timotheus the Poetes verses, who sayd:

Other read to have pity, and to be wise. Agesilaus saying.

Agesilaus vertues.

As Mars hath no mercie, so Greece skorneth gold.

Now all Asia being up and in garboile, they willingly yelding to him in every place, after he had taken order with the cities, and had stablished the liberty of their common weale, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to goe further, into the land, and transporting the warres from the sea coastes of Græce, to fight with the king of Persia in proper person, and with the wealth and happines of the Ecbatanians and the Susianians, and by that meanes to take his leasure from him, who sitting stil before, made the Græcians make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the Governours of every citie. In

Digitized by Google

the meane time came Epycidas Laconian unto him, and brought him newes how Sparta was grievously troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other Grœcians: and that therefore the Ephori did send for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his contrie. AGESILAUS

Agesilaus sent for out of Asia.

Ah wretched Greece, how cruell slaughters hast
Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee wast?

For how should a man otherwise call this envie, treason, and civill conspiracie among the Grœcians? Who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their warres against the barbarous people, out of Græce, and now to bring it against them selves. I am not of Demaratus opinion the Corinthian, that sayd the Grœcians delight was taken from them, which sawe not Alexander the great sitting in Darius royall throne: but rather I would thinke they should have wept, to have left this honor unto Alexander and the Macedonians, fondly losing so many famous Captaines of Græce, at the battells of Leuctres, of Coronea, of Corinthe, and of Arcadia. Neverthelesse, Agesilaus never did better acte in his life, nor ever shewed better example of obedience and justice due to his contrie, than he did in his returne home. For sithe Hanniball that beganne to have ill successe in his warres, being in manner driven out of Italie, thought never (but compelled) to returne againe into his contrie, to obey his contriemen, which called him home to defend the warre the Romanes made at their owne dores: and that Alexander the great also being sent for home uppon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into Macedon, but made a jeast at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaunt Antipater had fought with kinge Agis, saying, Me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are overcomming of kinge Darius here, that there hath bene a battell of rattes fought in Arcadia. Sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines have made so litle account of their contrie, may we not thinke the citie of Sparta blessed to have had such a kinge, that so much reverenced his contrie and obeyed the lawe as receiving onely a litle scrolle of parchement commaunding him

Agesilaus obedience to his contrie.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

to returne, he forsooke a worlde of goodes and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with assured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked foorthwith, leaving all the alies and confederates of his contrie verie sorowefull, for that he had geven over so noble an enterprise, which he had so happely begonne? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of Demostratus Phæacian, who sayd, that the Lacedæmonians in publicke matters were the worthiest men, and the Athenians in private causes. For as he had shewed him selfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: so was he alwayes curteous privately to his familiar frendes. And bicause the Persian coyne was stamped on the one side, with the print of an archer: Agesilaus being readie to departe, sayd, that tenne thowsand archers drave him out of Asia. For so much was brought unto Thebes and Athens, and distributed among the Orators and Governours there, who through their Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the Spartans. In his return, Agesilaus having passed the straight of Hellespont, tooke his way through the contrie of Thracia, and never intreated barbarous kinge nor people to suffer him to passe, but only sent unto them to know whether they would he should passe through their contries as a frende, or an enemie. All contries and nacions else received him very honorably to their power, save the people called the Trochalians, unto whom king Xerxes him selfe gave presentes that he might passe frendly through their contry: who sent unto Agesilaus to demaund a hundred silver talentes, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their contrie. But Agesilaus laughing them to scorne, aunswered againe: Why, how chaunceth it that they came not them selves to receive them? So therewithall he marched forwarde against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell raye to stoppe his passage: howebeit he overthrewe them, and slue a great number of them in the fielde. The like demaund he made unto the kinge of Macedon, whether he should passe through his contrie as a frende, or an enemie. The king made him aunswere, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quod Agesilaus: we

Agesilaus darke speeches.

Agesilaus despising and deceiving the barbarous people, returned home through their contries.

Digitized by Google

will goe on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldenes, and fearing least he would doe him some hurte as he went: sent to pray him that he woulde passe through his contrie as a frend. Now it chaunced so that the Thessalians at that time were in league with the enemies of the Lacedæmonians: therefore as he passed through their contrie, he did spoyle and forage it as his enemies contrie, and sent Xenocles and Scytha to the citie of Larisse, hopinge to perswade them to take parte with the Lacedæmonians. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The Spartans were marvelously offended withall: and thought good that Agesilaus should besiege Larisse with his army. But he aunswered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all Thessalie: and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marveled at in Agesilaus, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of Corinthe, where were many worthie and valliant Captaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the Spartans: he seemed not to rejoice at it, but rather to fetche a grievous sigh, saying: O poore Græce, how unfortunate art thou to have slaine with thine owne handes so many valliant Captaines of thine owne people, as joyning together, might at one field have overcome all the barbarous people. The Pharsalians harying and troubling the rereward of Agesilaus armie, he put foorth five hundred horsemen which gave them so lustie a charge, that he overthrew them by force. For this victorie, he set up tokens of triumphe apon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleased him above all the rest, bicause with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of him selfe, he had overthrowen the glory and pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, wherof they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came Diphridas one of the Ephores unto him, sent of purpose from Sparta, to commaund him immediatly to invade Bœotia with his armie. Nowe though Agesilaus intended some other time with a greater power to enter Bœotia, yet bicause he would not disobey the counsells commaundement of Sparta: he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of Asia, was at

Agesilaus overcame the Pharsalians.

Narthacium mons.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

hande, and therefore he sent for two companies of them which lay in campe by Corinthe. The Lacedæmonians that were at Sparta, to honor Agesilaus for that he had obeyed their commaundement so readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were desirous to goe aide the king, should come and enter their names. Notwithstanding they onely chose but fiftie of the valliantest among them, and sent them unto him. In the meane time, Agesilaus passed through the contrie of Thermopyles, and coasting over the lande of Phocyde, confederates to the Lacedæmonians, he entred into Bœotia, and camped by the citie of Chæronea: where immediatly after his arrivall, he sodainly sawe the sunne eclipsed, and darkened in the facion of a new moone. Even withall, came the newes of the death of Pisander unto him, who was slaine in a battell which he lost by sea, fighting against Pharnabazus and Conon, hard by the Ile of Gnidos. These newes were very heavie unto him, both for respect of the person his kinseman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the common wealth. Neverthelesse, fearing his souldiers would be discoraged with the newes, and become faint harted, being ready to joyne battell: he commaunded them that came from the sea, to brute abroade a contrarie tale to that they tolde him, and he him selfe to make good their speache, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, sending to every one of his frends a peece of flesh sacrificed, as he commonly used to doe, in any publike cause of joy. Then marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies farre of, and they likewise him: and therupon put his men in battell ray, and gave the left wing unto the Orchomenians, leading him selfe the right wing. The Thebans on thother side, placed them selves in the right wing of their armie, and gave the left unto the Argives. Xenophon being at that battell on Agesilaus side, wryteth that he never knewe of the like fielde fought. At the first onset, the conflict was not great betwene both, neither helde long, bicause the Thebans brake the Orchomenians straight, and Agesilaus the Argives. But

The eclipse of the sunne.

Pisander, Generall of the navie slaine in battell.

The Ilande of Gnidos.

Agesilaus battell with the Thebans.

Digitized by Google

when either side understoode that the left winges of their battells were in great distresse, and that they turned their backes: they returned sodainly againe. And where Agesilaus might easily have had the victory without any daunger, if he had suffred the squadron of the enemies to passe by him, and afterwards to have charged them in the rereward: of a noble corage to shew his valliantnes, he gave charge apon the voward, to have honor in overcomming them. The Thebans on the other side no lesse valliantly received him, and fought lustely on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agesilaus person, with the fifty young men that were sent to gard him, who shewed them selves very valliant. Agesilaus was sore hurt, notwithstanding their valliant resistance, his armor being passed thorow with their pikes and swords in sundry places: whereupon they environned him round amongst them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of them selves also being killed. In fine, finding the Thebans too strong in the voward they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening them selves, gave them passage thorow them. So when they were passed them, the Spartans perceiving howe losely and disorderly they marched, as thinking them selves out of all daunger, followed them, and gave charge apon their flancke. But all this could not make the Thebans flie: for they rejoycing for their victorie at this battell, retired fayer and softely unto the mountaine Helicon. But Agesilaus, notwithstanding he was very sore hurt, with many a grievous wound, would not go into his pavillion to be dressed before he had bene first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seene his men that were slaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the temple of Minerva Itonian, which was not farre from thence: (where also were sette up tokens of triumphe offred unto her long time before by the Thebans, when they had overcomen the armie of the Athenians, under the conduct of Sparton their Captaine, and had slaine also Tolmides their Captaine in the fielde) he commaunded his men they should lette them goe where they would. The next morning by breake of day, Agesilaus desirous to see if the Thebans had any corage to

AGESILAUS

Helicon mons.

The worthines of Agesilaus.

The temple of Minerva Itonian.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

come downe to fight againe: commaunded his souldiers to put garlandes apon their heades, and his musitians to sounde their shalmes or pipes, whilest he did sette up a token of triumphe as victorious. Moreover, his enemies sendinge to him to aske leave to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of Delphes, where the Pythian games were played, he made a solemne procession and common sacrifice unto Apollo, and offered him the tenth parte of all his spoyles which he had brought out of Asia, which amounted to the summe of an hundred talentes. This thing done, he returned into his contrie, where he was greatly honored and esteemed of all his citizens and contrie men, for his orderly life and noble behaviour: for he was no chaungeling, but the selfe same man in state and condicion that he was before he tooke his jorney. He transformed not him selfe into strangers manners, as commonly other Captaines doe, that returne out of a farre contrie where they have made warres: neither did he scorne his contrie facions, or shewed him selfe disobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and observed them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in washing or bathing, in his wives apparell, in his armory, or any way else in his householde stuffe, as if he had never passed over the river of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his olde gates standing that were of so great continuaunce, that they were thought to be those which Aristodemus had set up. Xenophon also sayeth, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more sumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in Lacedæmon, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likenesse of griffins, hartes, or goates: apon the which they caried younge wenches in solemne processions in the citie. Xenophon wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicæarchus also was much offended, that they neither knewe Agesilaus daughters name, nor yet the mother of Epaminondas. Yet we finde in the Laconian Chronicles, that Agesilaus wives name was Cleora, one of his daughters called Apolia, and the other Prolyta. Moreover, Agesilaus speare is seene to this day in the citie of Sparta, even like unto others, and no

The constancy of Agesilaus.

Canathrum, what it is.

Cleora, the wife of king Agesilaus.

Apolia, and Prolyta, Agesilaus daughters.

Digitized by Google

maner of difference. Now Agesilaus perceiving certaine citizens of Sparta to stand upon their reputacion, and esteeming them selves above others, bicause they kept horse in their stable: perswaded his sister Cynisca to send her coche and coche horses to the Olympian games to runne for the best prise, only to let the Grækians see that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore, having Xenophon the Philosopher about him, whome he loved and made great account of, he perswaded him to send for his sonnes to Lacedæmon, that they might be brought up there, where they should learne the noblest science that men coulde possiblie learne, to witte: to obey, and to commaunde. When Lysander was dead, Agesilaus at his returne out of Asia, founde a great faction and conspiracie raised by his meanes against him in Sparta: and bicause it might appeare what manner of citizen Lysander was when he lived, he was likely to have openly shewed and declared an Oration which he founde among his wrytinges (the which the Orator Cleon Halicarnasseus had wrytten for him, and Lysander should have cunned without booke, to have spoken in open assembly) that was to stirre innovation, and in maner have made a chaunge of the whole government of the common wealth of Lacedæmon. Howebeit there was a grave counseller that having red the oration, and douting the apparant reasons and perswasions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wishe him not to plucke up the dead againe out of his grave, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. Agesilaus liked the counsell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bene his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make some of them to be sent as Lieutenaunt of army, or otherwise to have charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly knowen, what covetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the counsell, he would than helpe and intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his frendes, where they had bene his enemies: insomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king Agesipolis his colleague, whose father had bene banished: he being a

AGESILAUS

Xenophon, great about Agesilaus.

The practise of Lysander about alteration of government.

The wise counsell of a Senatour at Sparta.

The policie of Agesilaus to win his enemies.

Agesilaus, and Agesipolis, kinges of Lacedæmon.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with government of the common wealth. Neverthelesse, he so behaved him selfe unto Agesilaus, that he made him his verie good frende: for both the kinges when they were in the citie, did eate together in one halle. Then Agesilaus knowing that Agesipolis (as him selfe) was geven to love, would ever minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intising him to love some one of them, which he him selfe did love: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these Laconian loves there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regarde to frame the boy beloved unto vertue and honest condicions: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lycurgus. Agesilaus by this meanes havinge the whole authoritie (above all men in the citie) in his handes: made his halfe brother Teleutias Generall by sea, and him selfe with the armie by land went to besiege the citie of Corinthe, where with his brothers helpe by sea he tooke the long walls of the same. The Argives which kept Corinthe at that time, at Agesilaus arrivall there were solemnisinge the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them flie, even as they came from sacrificing unto the god Neptune, driving them to leave all their preparation and solemnity. Then divers banished men of Corinthe that were in his armie, besought him that he woulde keepe these Isthmian games. But he denyed them, yet was contented they shoulde them selves solemnize them, and so him selfe remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safetie. Afterwardes when Agesilaus was gone thence, the Argives returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games: and there were some of them which having wonne the game at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victours before, were this second time overcome. Whereupon Agesilaus sayd, that the Argives shewed them selves rancke cowardes, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For him selfe, touchinge such like sportes and games, he ever thought it good to keepe a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honor such solemne assemblies and

Teleutias, Agesilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by sea.

Digitized by Google

common feastes with his presence, as were commonly used in Sparta, and tooke great pleasure to see the sportes betwene the yong boyes and girles of Sparta: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that Callipides an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the Græcians for a singular man in that arte) meeting Agesilaus on a time, at the first did his duetie to him, and then arrogantly thrust him selfe amonge them that walked with him, thinking the king would have made much of him: but perceiving he made no countenaunce to him, in the end he asked him: O king Agesilaus, doe you not know me? Agesilaus looking apon him, aunswered: What, art not thou Callipides the stage player? And so made no further account of him. An other time beinge desired to heare a man that naturally counterfeated the nightingalls voyce: he would not heare him, saying, I have oftentimes heard the nightingall it selfe. An other time also when Menecrates the Phisitian (having by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called him selfe Iupiter, and arrogantly usurped that name, presuminge in a letter he wrote unto Agesilaus, to subscribe it in this manner, Menecrates Iupiter, unto king Agesilaus, greeting: Agesilaus wrote againe unto him, Agesilaus unto Menecrates *health. So, whilest Agesilaus was in the territorie of Corinthe (where he had taken the temple of Iuno) beholding his souldiers forraging and spoiling the contrie rounde about: Ambassadors came to him from Thebes, to pray him to make peace with the Thebans. But he that alwayes hated the Thebans, and besides that thought it then very requisite for the good successe of his doinges, to make light of it: seemed as he neither heard nor saw them that spake unto him. But even at that very instant, as by divine revenge to crie quittance, there fell a great mishappe upon him. For before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were slaine every man by Iphicrates: which was the greatest losse that they in long time before had susteined. For they lost a great number of valliant souldiers, all naturall Lacedæ-

Certaine Apothegmes of Agesilaus.

*Meaning that he was not well in his wittes to be so presumptuous.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

monians: who being well armed every man, were slaine by naked or light armed hierlinges. Thereupon Agesilaus went straight into the field with hope to save them, or at the least to be revenged. But receiving certaine intelligence by the way that they were all slaine, he returned againe to the temple of Iuno from whence he came, and then sent for the Ambassadors of the Bœotians, to geve them audience. But they, to requite his former disdaine unto them, made no manner of speache of peace, but onely requested him to suffer them to enter into Corinthe. Agesilaus being offended, aunswered them: If it be to see your frendes triumphe of their victorie, ye may safely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambassadors with him, he destroyed the Corinthians contrie, even to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambassadors see, that the citizens of Corinthe durst not come out into the field to defend their contrie: he gave them leave to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was overthrowen, which by flight had escaped: he brought them into Lacedæmon againe, alwayes removing his campe before day, and never encamped till darke night, bicause the Arcadians (their mortall enemies) should not rejoyce at their losse. After this voyage, to gratefie the Achaians, he entred in with them into the contry of Acarnania, and brought great spoyles from thence, after he had overcomen them in battel. Moreover, when the Achaians besought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from sowing of their grownd: he made them aunswere he would not. For, sayde he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fieldes shall be sowen with corne: and so in deede it came to passe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the Achaians. About that time, Pharnabazus and Conon, with the king of Persiaes armye, being Lordes of the sea without let of any, destroyed and spoyled all the coast of Laconia. Moreover, the city of Athens did reare up her walls againe by helpe of Pharnabazus money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereuppon the Lacedæmonians thought good to make peace with the king of Persia, and to that ende sent Antalcidas Ambassadour

Agesilaus overcame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

Digitized by Google

unto Tiribazus, most shamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the Græcians inhabiting in Asia, for whose libertie Agesilaus had made warres with him before. So, it was Agesilaus happe not to be foyled with any part of his shame: for Antalcidas that was his enemie, sought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he saw warre did daily increase the authoritie, honor, and fame of Agesilaus. Notwithstanding, he aunswered one then, that reproved him for that the Lacedæmonians did favor the Medes: No, sayd he, they do not so, but the Medes doe play the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheles, threatning warre to all the Græcians, which would not agre to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeld unto that the king of Persia liked. But surely he did this chiefly for respect of the Thebans, to thende that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to set the contry of Bœotia at libertie againe, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soone after by that that followed. For Phœbidas having committed a fowle acte, in open peace to take the castell of the citie of Thebes, called Cadmea, offending thereby all the other Græcians (and the Spartans them selves also not being very well pleased withall, and those specially which were Agesilaus enemies) Phœbidas being asked in great anger, at whose commaundement he had done that sodaine enterprise: to lay all the suspition of the facte apon him: Agesilaus for Phœbidas discharge, letted not openly to say, that the qualitie of the facte was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing fallinge out profitable for his contry to do it of his owne head without commaundement. All this notwithstanding, he was wont to say in private talke, that justice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therefore that valiantnes without justice was of no validity, and that if all men were just, valiantnes were of no estimation. And to them that tolde him, the great king will have it so: Why, sayd he, and wherein is he better then my selfe, if he be not juster? Iudging very wisely therein, that they should esteeme a king (whether he were of great or small power) by his justice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was con-

AGESILAUS

Phœbidas possesseth the castel of Cadmea.

Agesilaus praise of justice.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

cluded, the king of Persia having sent him a private letter desiring his frendshippe, Agesilaus refused it, saying: that common frendshippe was enough betwext them, and that they should neede none other, so long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the poynt of performaunce, he went from his first good opinion, and gave place to his will and ambition, specially against the Thebans, at that time when he did not only save Phœbidas, but also procured the citie of Sparta to take the fault apon them which he had committed, and to justifie it, by keeping the castle of Cadmea still, and making Archias and Leontidas Governours of the citie of Thebes, by whom Phœbidas came by the castell of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon every man thought straight, that Phœbidas was he that had put the matter in execution, and that Agesilaus gave the counsell to do it: as thinges falling out afterwardes, did manifestly prove the suspicion true. For, after that the Thebans had driven the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the castell of Cadmea, and restored their citie againe to libertie, burdening them that they had traiterously slaine Archias and Leontidas (who in deede were tyrannes, though in name Governors) he made warre with them: and Cleombrotus, raigning then king with him after Agesipolis death, was sent before into Bœotia with an armie: Agesilaus was dispensed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reason of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the first growth of heare on his face, and therefore went not that jorney: being ashamed that the Thebans should now see him fight to revenge the tyrans deathes, who had but a litle before taken armes for the banished men, against the Phliasians.

Sphodrias practise to take the haven of Piræa at Athens.

At that time there was a Laconian called Sphodrias, of the contrarie faction unto Agesilaus, and was then Governour in the citie of Thespies, a valliant and stowt man of his handes, but ever fuller of vaine hope, than of good judgement. He desiring fame, and supposing that Phœbidas came to dignitie and great estimation through his valliant enterprise at Thebes: perswaded him selfe that he shoulde winne much more honor, if of him selfe he tooke the haven of Piræa sodainly stealing apon the Athenians by land, cutting them

Digitized by Google

of by that meanes from al trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practise devised by Pelopidas and Gelon, Governours of Bœotia, who had allured certaine men to faine them selves very devout and frendly to the Lacedæmonians. These men praising and extollinge Sphodrias to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthie as him selfe alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior unto that tretcherous winning of the castell Cadmea at Thebes: although it was attempted with lesse hardines and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriasium, where he made account to have bene at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him seeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of Eleusin, were all afrayed and amazed: yea he him selfe also fainted perceiving he was discovered, and so returned backe with shame and dishonor to the citie of Thespies, without any exployt done, saving only a litle spoyle taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from Athens unto Sparta, who apon their arrivall found that they needed not to accuse him, for that the counsell and Governours of the citie had already sent for him to come unto them, to condemne him of hie treason. But he durst not returne to Sparta, fearing the furie of his contriemen, thinking in deede that they would seeme as though the wronge had bene done to them, bicause it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This Sphodrias had a sonne called Cleonymus, a very fayer boy, with whome Archidamus (Agesilaus sonne) was farre in love: who then was marvelous sorie to see this boy he loved, in so great daunger to lose his father, and yet durst not be seene to helpe him, bicause Sphodrias was one of Agesilaus adversaries. Notwithstanding, Cleonymus making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father Agesilaus (whome they feared above all men else) Archidamus followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durst not breake the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next session being at hand, when judgement should be geven of Sphodrias, he

AGESILAUS

Sphodrias accused of treason.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS boldly ventered to tell him, howe that Cleonymus had prayed him to be an humbler suter to him touching his fathers fact. Agesilaus understanding that his sonne loved Cleonymus, would not withdrawe him from loving of him, bicause the boy even from his childehoode gave alwayes good hope that one day he would sure make as honest a man as any other whatsoever: neither made he any countenaunce to his sonne, as though he would doe any thing at his sute, but onely aunswered him, for that, he would doe as became him in such a case. Whereupon, Archidamus being bashefull, left comming any more to Cleonymus, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made Sphodrias frendes dispaire of his life more then before, untill Etymocles, one of Agesilaus familiars talking with them, tolde them that for the facte it selfe, Agesilaus thought it a shamefull deede, and as much misliked it as might be: but for Sphodrias selfe, that he tooke him for a valliant man, and saw that the common wealth had neede of men of such service. This was Agesilaus common talke to please his sonne, when any man came to speake to him of Sphodrias accusation. Insomuch that Cleonymus found straight that Archidamus had delt as faithfully and frendly for him as might be, and then Sphodrias frendes also tooke hart againe unto them, to solicite his cause, and to be earnest suters for him. Agesilaus among other had this speciall propertie, that he loved his children deerely: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his house when they were litle ones, and ride apon a litle cocke horse, or a reede, as a horseback. Insomuch as a frende of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he prayed him to say nothing, till he had litle children him selfe. In fine, Sphodrias was quit by his judges. The Athenians understanding it, sent to proclaime warre with the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon Agesilaus was much reproved, bicause that to please the fonde affection of his sonne, he had hindered justice, and brought his citie to be accused among the Græcians for such grievous crimes. Agesilaus perceiving that king Cleombrotus his companion went with no verie good will to make warre with the Thebans, he breaking the

Howe Sphodrias was saved from death.

Agesilaus cockering his children too much.

Agesilaus jorney into Bœotia.

Digitized by Google

order set downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres him selfe in person, and so invading Bœotia he both received and did great hurt. Wherupon Antalcidas seeing him hurt one day, Now truely (sayd he) the Thebans have paide you your deserved hier, for teaching them against their wills to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in dede they say the Thebans became better souldiers and warriours than they were before, being dayly trained and exercised in armes, through the continuall invasions of the Lacedæmonians. Loe, this was the reason, why the olde father Lycurgus in his lawe called *Rhetra*, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one selfe people, bicause that by compulsion they should not be made expert souldiers. For this cause did the confederats of Lacedæmon hate Agesilaus, saying, that it was not for any knowen offence to the state, but for very spite and private malice of his owne, that he sought to undoe the Thebans in this maner: and that to follow his humor, they consumed them selves going yearely to the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any necessitie at all, following a few Lacedæmonians, them selves being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that Agesilaus desiring to make them see what number of men of warre they were, used this devise. On a time he commaunded all the allies to sit downe together one with an other by them selves, and the Lacedæmonians also by them selves. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all pottemakers should stand up on their feete. When they were up, he made him crie to the brasiers to rise also. After them in like maner, the carpinters: then the masons, and so consequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamacion, were all in maner on their feete. The Lacedæmonians, not one of them rose: bicause all base mechanicall craftes were forbidden them to occupie. Then Agesilaus laughing at them, Loe, my frendes sayd he: doe ye not see now that we bring moe souldiers to the field, than ye doe? At his returne from this jorney of Thebes, passing by the city of Megara, as he went up into the counsell house within the castell, there sodainly tooke

Antalcidas saying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Agesilaus suttill devise to shewe the weakenes of the allies.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

Agesilaus fell sodainly sicke of a daungerous disease.

him a great crampe in his left legge, that swelled extreamely, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vaine: a Phisitian of Syracusa in Sicile being there, straight opened a vaine under the ankle of his foote, which made the paine to cease: notwithstanding there came such aboundance of blood, that they could not stanche it, so that he sounded oft, and was in great daunger of present death. In fine, a way was found to stoppe it, and they caried him to Lacedæmon, where he lay sicke a long time, so that he was past going to the warres any more. The Spartans in the meane time received great overthrowes both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest overthrow was at the battell of Leuctres, where the Thebans overcame and slue them in plaine battell. Then the Græcians were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereuppon came Ambassadors and the Deputies from all the cities of Græce, and met at Lacedæmon to that ende. One of these Deputies was Epaminondas, a notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet unskilfull in warres. He seeing how the other Ambassadors curried favor with Agesilaus, only he of the rest kept his gravety to speake freely, and made an Oration, not for the Thebans alone, but for all Græce in generall, declaring to them all, how warres did only increase the greatnes and power of the citie of Sparta, and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and townes of Græce: and for this cause, that he did counsell them all to conclude a good and perfit peace indifferently for all, to the ende it might continewe the lenger, when they were all alike. Agesilaus perceiving then that all the Græcians present at the assemblie gave him good eare, and were glad to heare him speake thus boldely of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it mete and reasonable, that all Bœotia should be set clere at libertie againe? Epaminondas presently and boldly againe asked him: if he thought it just and requisite to set all Laconia clere againe at liberty? Agesilaus being offended therwith, stoode upon his feete, and commaunded him to aunswere plainly, whether they would set all Bœotia at libertie or not? Epaminondas replied unto him with the selfe speache againe,

Epaminondas the Theban, sent Ambassador unto Lacedæmon.

The strife betwext Agesilaus and Epaminondas for the libertie of Bœotia.

Digitized by Google

and asked him whether they would set all Laconia at liberty or not. That nettled Agesilaus so, that (besides he was glad of such a cloke, for the old grudge he ever bare unto the Thebans) he presently put the name of the Thebans out of the bill of those, which should have bene comprised within the league, and cried open warres apon them in the market place. For the rest, he licensed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of Græce to departe, with this conclusion: that they should lovingly take order among them selves for the controversies betwext them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to such agreement, that then they should trie it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take up all quarells among them. King Cleombrotus by chaunce was at that time in the contrie of Phocide with his armie, unto whom the Ephori wrote that he should forthwith spoyle the Thebans contrie: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fansie to the jorney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durst not refuse to goe, nor disobey the Lacedæmonians. And notwithstanding that there were many signes presaging ill lucke, as we have wrytten in the life of Epaminondas, and that Prothous Laconian was against the enterprise of this warre all that he could: Agesilaus would needes forward, hoping he had nowe found oportunity to be revenged of the Thebans, sith all Græce besides was in peace and at libertie, them selves onely exempted from treatie of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very shortnes of time, that made it manifest enough that this warre was begonne in a geere, without any manner of reason. For the generall peace amongest the Græcians was concluded at Sparta the fourteenth of May, and the Lacedæmonians were overcome at the battell of Leuctres the fifteene of Iune: so as there was but twentie dayes betwene them. There were slaine a thowsand Lacedæmonians with their king Cleombrotus, and the choicest of the valliantest Spartans about him. Amongest them was also slaine that goodly young man Cleonymus, Sphodrias sonne, of whom we spake before: who having bene beaten downe thrise at the kings foote, three times

AGESILAUS

The Lacedæmonians slaine at the battell of Leuctres.

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians slaine.

Cleonymus, the sonne of Sphodrias, slaine at king Cleombrotus foote.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS got up againe, but at the length was slaine, valliantly fighting against the Thebans. This great overthrowe chaunsing to the Lacedæmonians unlooked for, and withall so glorious a victorie unto the Thebans, as Græcians fighting with Græcians had never the like: the vanquished citie of Sparta notwithstanding deserved no lesse honor and commendacion for her fortitude and worthinesse, than did the victorious citie of Thebes. For as Xenophon wryteth, that as amongest good men even in table talke, and in their sportes and mirth there falleth out ever some thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: even so in like case, no lesse, but rather more, ought noble mens wordes to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in adversitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chaunse there was a common feast day in the citie of Sparta, which was full of straungers that came to see the daunses and sportes of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arrived that brought the newes of the battell lost at Leuctres. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor straight ranne all about, that they were all undone, and how they had lost the signorie and commaundement over all Græce: would not suffer for all this to breake of their daunse in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to chaunge the forme of thei. feast, but sent unto the parentes to everie mans house, to let them understande the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they them selves remaining still in the Theater to see the daunses and sportes continued, to judge who caried the best games away. The next morning when everie man knewe the number of them that were slaine, and of those also that were escaped: the parentes and frendes of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking cheerefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On thother side, the parentes of them that scaped, kept their houses with their wives, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses, for any matter of necessitie: ye should see him looke so heavily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift up his head, nor looke ye in the face. Besides all this, even amongest the women there was greater difference. For the

Xenophons saying.

The constancy and fortitude of the Spartans.

Digitized by Google

mothers of them that kept their sonnes which came from the battell, were sad and sorowfull, and spake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went frendly to visite one an other, to rejoyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates beganne to forsake them, and did dayly looke that Epaminondas glorying in his victorie, would invade Peloponnesus: then they beganne to be pricked in conscience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their citie, for that they had thrust out of the kingdome a man perfect in limmes, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the goddes to beware of that above all thinges. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valliantnes, and his authoritie was such thereby, that they did not onely use him in warre, as their king and soveraine Captaine: but in civill causes also wherein there rose any question, they ever used his counsell and advise. As they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Tresantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses and of greatest power within the citie) least they should move some sturre or commotion among them. (For by lawe, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is shame and reproche to geve them any wives, and also to marrie any of theirs. Whosoever meeteth them may lawefully strike them, and they must abide it, and not geve them a word againe. They are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with cloth of divers colours: and worst of all, to shave the one side of their beardes, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the lawe according to the infamie they deserved, specially then standing in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred them selves altogether unto Agesilaus, to take such order in it as he thought good. But Agesilaus then, without chaunging or altering any thing of the lawe, sayd in open assemblie at Lacedæmon: that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwardes it should stand in force. By this policie he kept the lawe inviolate, and saved

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Tresantas be cowardes, or faint harted men.

Punishment at Sparta, for cowardly souldiers.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

also the honor of those poore men: and withall, to put these youthes againe in hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the contrie of Arcadia, and would geve no battell, but onely tooke a small citie of the Mantinians, and foraged the contrie. This againe did a litle revive the citie of Sparta with some hope, to make that it should not utterly dispaire. But shortly after, Epaminondas invaded the contrie of Laconia, with fortie thowsand footemen well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoyle: so that in all, there were about three score and tenne thowsande fighting men that came in with him to invade Laconia. It was well neere sixe hundred yeares sith the Dorians possessed Lacedæmon, and in all that time till then they never saw enemies in their contrie that durst invade them: but then they sacked and burnt all that came in their way, even unto the river of Eurotas, and hard adjoyning unto Sparta, and no man durst come out to resist them. For Agesilaus (as Theopompus wryteth) would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to goe out to fight against such a tempest and furie of warre, but having fortified the middest of the citie, and garded every end of the streetes with souldiers, he paciently bare all the bragges and threates of the Thebans, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the fielde to defende his contrie, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having him selfe procured this warre. If this went to Agesilaus hart, no lesse grievous were these troubles to him that rose within the citie. As the cries and running toe and froe of the old men, which were mad to see that they did before their eyes: and of sely women also, which no grounde nor place could hold, but ranne up and downe, as straught of their wittes, to heare the noise the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fieldes over. Much more sorowefull also did this make him, when as he bethought him selfe, that entring into his kingdom at such time as the citie of Sparta was in the greatest prosperitie that ever it was, he now saw his honor eclipsed, and the glorie of his kingdom overthrowen: and the rather, for that him selfe

Epaminondas invadeth Laconia with three score and ten thowsande men.

Digitized by Google

had often avaunted, that Laconian women had never seene the smoke of any enemies campe. And as they say of Antalcidas one day, that he answered an Athenian that contended with him about the valliantnesse of one an others nation, alleaging for him selfe, that the Athenians had often driven the Lacedæmonians from the river of Cephesus. It is true, said the Laconian: but we did never drive you from the river of Eurotas. The like aunswere made a meane man of Sparta, to one of the Argives that cast him in the teeth, There are divers of your Laconians buried in the contrie of Argolide: So are there none of yours, sayd he, buried in Laconia. It is reported, that Antalcidas being one of the Ephori at that time, did secretly sende his children into the Ile of Cithæra, fearing least the citie of Sparta should be taken. Agesilaus perceiving that the enemies forced to passe over the river, to enter the citie: he stoode to defend the middle parte of the citie, being the hiest place of the same, and there had his men sette in order of battell. Now at that time, by chaunce the river of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinarie, by reason of the snowe waters that fell aboundantly: which troubled more the Thebans with the coldnes, then roughnes of the same, in passing it over. Some shewing Agesilaus how Epaminondas marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was never of him, saying never a word but this onely: O, what a noble fellowe is that! Epaminondas having done all that he could possible to geve the Lacedæmonians battell, even within the citie selfe of Sparta, that he might there have set up some tokens of triumphe, he could never intise Agesilaus to come out of his forte: wherefore he was driven in the ende to departe thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the contrie. There fell out a conspiracie of two hundred men in Sparta, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the citie where the temple of Diana stoode, called Issorium, a place of strong scituacion, and ill to distresse. Hereuppon the Lacedæmonians in furie would straight have set apon them. But Agesilaus fearing great mutinie and sturre apon it: commaunded that no man should sturre: and him selfe

AGESILAUS

Certaine witty aunswers.

Conspiracies at Lacedæmon under Agesilaus.

Issorium the temple of Diana.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS unarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed my commaundement. This is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to disperse your selves, some one way, some an other way, shewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing these wordes, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and so leaving that strength, went into those partes of the citie that he had shewed them. Agesilaus then bringinge others thether, possessed the forte of Issorium, and tooke fifteene of those conspiratours, and put them to death the next night followinge. Howebeit then there brake out an other conspiracie farre greater than the first, of the Spartans them selves which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sodaine sturre and garboyle, and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on thother side to neglect it, the conspiracie was over daungerous. Agesilaus having consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any judgement of lawe, never Spartans before them suffering death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas divers of their neighbours, and of the Ilotes them selves, (whom they had billed in their bandes for souldiers) stale away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much discorage them that remained: he warned his men that they should everie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they shoulde take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, bicause they should not knowe the names of them that were fled in this sorte. Now for the departure of the Thebans, some say that they went out of Laconia by reason of the winter that came on, whereuppon the Arcadians discharged their bandes, and everie one departed his way in disorder. Others also holde opinion, that they continued there three monethes together, during which time they destroyed the most parte of the contrie. Theopompus wryteth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the Thebans having determined to departe, there came one Phrixus a Spartan unto them, sent from Agesilaus, who brought them tenne talents that they should departe out of their contrie. Thus had

A fine devise to apprehende the traitors.

The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia.

Digitized by Google

they money geven them to defraye their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them selves had long before determined to have done. And yet doe I wonder, howe it is possible that all other historiographers knewe nothing of this, and that Theopompus onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truely, that Agesilaus onely was the cause that the citie of Sparta was saved: who leaving his ambition and selfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safetie. Neverthelesse, after this great overthrowe, he could never raise Sparta againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole bodie, which having acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfet presently, and so putteth all in daunger: even so Lycurgus having framed a perfect state of government in the common wealth of Sparta, to make her citizens live in peace and amitie together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good lawemaker thought unmeete to continue happie life: they were straight overthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time Agesilaus was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for verie age: but his sonne Archidamus, with the aide which Dionysius the tyranne of Syracusa sent unto them, wanne a battell against the Arcadians, called the tearelesse battell: for there dyed not one of his men, and they slue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely shewed the great weakenesse and decaie of the citie of Sparta. For in former times it was so common a thing unto them to overcome their enemies in battell, that they did sacrifice nothinge else to the goddes in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boast of it: neither did they that hard the newes rejoice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of Mantinea, which Thucydides describeth: the Ephori only sent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they understoode Archidamus came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father him selfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes

Agesilaus saved the citie of Sparta.

The tearelesse battell of Archidamus, overcomming the Arcadians.

The Lacedæmonians were not wont to rejoyce much at any victory.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

for joy, and after him all the other Magistrates and officers of the citie, and a swarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the rivers side, holding up their hands to heaven, and thanking the goddes, as if their citie had redeemed and recovered her shame and lost honor, and beganne nowe to rise againe, as before it did. For untill that time, some say, that the husbandes durst not boldly looke their wives in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the citie of Messina being by Epaminondas reedified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the same. The Spartans durst not fight with him (not to hinder his purpose) though it spighted them to the hartes, and were angrie with Agesilaus, for that in his raigne they had lost all that territory, which was as great as all Laconia selfe, and that for goodnesse and fertilitie compared with the best partes of all Græce, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why Agesilaus would not agree to the peace, which the Thebans sent to offer him: and all bicause he would not relinquish that in wordes, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recovering the thing he looked for, but had in maner also lost the citie of Sparta by a warlike stratageame, in the which he was deceived. For the Mantinians being newly revolted againe from the alliance of the Thebans, and having sent for the Lacedæmonians: Epaminondas receiving intelligence that Agesilaus was departed from Sparta with all his power to aide the Mantinians, marched away secretly by night from Tegea, without the privitie of the Mantinians, and went straight to Sparta, the which he had almost surprised on the sodaine (going an other way then Agesilaus came,) being in manner without men to defende it. Howebeit a Thespian called Euthynus, as Callisthenes sayth, (or as Xenophon wryteth, a Cretan,) brought Agesilaus newes of it: who dispatched a horseman straight to advertise them of the citie of Sparta, and marching forward him selfe to returne, stayed not longe after before he arrived. He was no sooner come, but incontinently

Messina restored againe by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas second jorney unto Sparta.

Digitized by Google

also came the Thebans, who passing over the river of Eurotas, gave assault to the city. Then Agesilaus perceiving that there was no more place nor time of securitie as before, but rather of desperation and courage: he valliantlie defended it more then an olde mans yeares coulde beare. Thus, through corage and desperate minde, whereto he was never brought before, neither did ever use it, he put by the daunger, and saved the citie of Sparta from Epaminondas handes, setting up markes of triumphe for repulsing of the enemies, and making the women and children of Sparta to see the Lacedæmonians how honorablie they rewarded their nurse and contrie for their good education: but Archidamus chiefely of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into everie parte of the citie, with a fewe about him, to repulse the enemies wheresoever the daunger was greatest. It is sayd also that at that time there was one Isadas the sonne of Phœbidas, that did marvelous straunge thinges to beholde, both in the face of his enemies, as also in the sight of his frendes. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being starke naked, and unarmed, his bodie noynted with oyle, having in one hande a borestaffe, and in the other a sworde, in this maner he went out of his house, and ranne amongest them that fought, killinge and overthrowing his enemies that withstoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preserved him for his manhoodes sake, or else bicause men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gave him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valliantnesse: but withall they set a fine on his head to pay a thowsand silver Drachmas for his rashe attempt, to hasard him selfe in battell, unarmed for defense. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the citie of Mantinea. There Epaminondas having overthrowen the first ranckes of the Lacedæmonians, and coragiously distressing the rest, valliantly following the chase: there was one Anticrates a Laconian, who receiving him (as Dioscorides writeth) slue him with his borespeare. The Lacedæmonians to this day notwithstanding, doe call the ofspring of this Anticrates, Machæriones: as much to say, as swordmen, as though he had slaine him with a sword.

Agesilaus repulsed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon.

The fortitude of Archidamus.

The valliantnes of Isadas a Spartan.

Isadas rewarded and amerced.

The death of Epaminondas.

Machæriones, why so called.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS The Lacedæmonians did esteeme this Anticrates so much, for that deadly stroke he gave (bicause they were afrayed of Epaminondas while he lived) that they gave him that slue him, great honors and dignities, and discharged all his ofspring and kinred from payment of subsidie and common contribucions, which priviledge one Callicrates, a kinseman of this Anticrates, enjoyed even in our time. After this battell and death of Epaminondas, the Græcians having taken peace generally amongest them, Agesilaus would needes exclude the Messenians from being sworne to this peace, saying: that they neede not sweare, bicause they had no city. Now, forasmuch as all the Græcians els did receive them as amongest the number, and tooke their othe unto this peace: the Lacedæmonians brake of from this general peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recover the Messenians contrie, and all through the allurement of Agesilaus, who for this cause was thought of the Græcians a cruell and unsatiable man for warres, to deale so craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought him selfe in discredit with all men, beinge compelled to make his citie bare of money, borowing of them still, and raising sundrie contribucions amongest them: whereas in deede it had bene his best way to have ended all those miseries, having so happie an occasion offred at that time, and not to have lost so great an Empire of so many townes and cities, both by sea and lande, and all to plague his contrie, to winne the lande and riches of the Messenians. But yet was this most shame unto him of all other, when he gave him selfe unto one Tachos, a Captaine of the Egiptians, everie man thinking it a shamefull parte of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of all the Græcians, and the which had filled the worlde with reporte of his fame and glorie) should for money let out his person to hyre, and the glorie of his name, unto a barbarous person, a traitor and rebell to his kinge and maister, to become a mercenarie Captaine and souldier to doe him service. And moreover, he being now foure score yeares of age and upwardes, his bodie all mangled with woundes, though he had undertaken this honorable charge for the recoverie of the libertie of the

Agesilaus greedy of warres.

Digitized by Google

Græcians, yet had his ambition deserved some blame: for noble actes have their time, yea rather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But Agesilaus had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in service, specially for benefitte of the common wealth, but perswaded him selfe that it was a dishonor to him to live idlely in a citie and doe nothing, till death should come and make his summones: thereupon therefore he levied men of warre through all Græce with the money Tachos sent unto him, and with them tooke sea, having thirtie Spartans counsellers and assistantes to him, as he had in his first jorney. Now Agesilaus being arrived in Egipt, all the chiefe Captaines and Governours of king Tachos came to the sea shore, and honorablie received him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of Egiptians of all sortes (that were marvelous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroade of Agesilaus) came thither from all partes to see what manner of man he was. But when they sawe no stately trayne about him, but an olde graybeard layed on the grasse by the sea side, a litle man that looked simplie of the matter, and but meanely apparrelled in an ill favored threed bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merie tale, that the mountaines should bring forth, and was delivered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they sawe men bring him presentes to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calves, and geese, and such grosse thinges: and refused all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to geve them to the Ilotes his slaves. Theophrastus wryteth, that he delighted marvelously in the rushe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their finenesse and the handsomnesse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Having spoken at that time with Tachos, who was assembling his armie to goe on his jorney: he was not made chiefetaine generall, as he looked he should have bene, but was appointed only Colonell of all the straungers, Chabrias Generall of all the armie by sea, and the chiefe of all the rest was Tachos him selfe in person. This at the first grieved Agesilaus to the hart, being driven

Agesilaus derided of the Egiptians.

Agesilaus despised al dainty thinges.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

whether he would or not, to beare with the vanitie and pride of this Egiptian. So he sayled with him into Phenice, against the Phenicians, imbasing him selfe against his noble disposition and minde, and gave him place untill he saw time of revenge. It chaunced that one Nectanebos a nephewe of this Tachos, having the leading of parte of this armie, rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the Egiptians, he sent unto Agesilaus, and prayed him to come and take his parte. The like he did also unto Chabrias, and prayed him to joyne with him, promising great rewardes unto them both. Tachos understanding that, besought them both that they would not forsake him. Chabrias for his parte also did likewise intreate Agesilaus, and perswade him what he coulde, to continewe frendshippe with Tachos. Agesilaus aunswered him, For thee, Chabrias, thou camest of thine owne good will, and therefore mayest doe what thou thinkest good: but so is it not with me. For I am sent hither a Captaine by my contrie, to serve the Egyptians, and therefore it were no honestie for me to make warre with them, whome I am sent to serve and aide: were it not that they them selves which sent me, doe nowe commaunde me the contrarie. This aunswere being made, he sent certaine of his men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commende Nectanebos. Both they also for their partes sent to intreate the counsell of Lacedæmon: the one as being alwayes their frende and confederate, and the other promising to be their faithfull frende thencefoorth. The Lacedæmonians having heard the requestes of both, aunswered them openly, that Agesilaus shoulde consider of this matter: and wrote secretlie to him, that he should doe what he thought best for the common wealth of Sparta. So Agesilaus taking with him the mercenarie souldiers which he had brought out of Græce, went unto Nectanebos, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefitte of his contrie, to bewray a wicked thing: but in deede taking away the visard to benefit his contrie, they might by a better name rightly have tearmed it treason. Howebeit the Lacedæmonians placing the chiefest poynt of honor, to consist in the benefit of their contrie: did acknowledge nothing to be justice, but that which they thought

Agesilaus forsaketh Tachos, and goeth unto Nectanebos.

Digitized by Google

might serve for the advauncement of the glorie of Sparta. Tachos seeinge him selfe forsaken thus by his mercenarie straungers, fled. But nowe on the other side, there rose an other Kinge in the citie of Mendes, against this Nectanebos, who havinge leavied to the number of a hundred thowsande fightinge men, came to fight with Nectanebos. But he thinking to encorage Agesilaus, tolde him, that in deede they were a great number of men of all sortes together, and speciallie men of handie craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, bicause they knewe not what warre ment. But Agesilaus aunswered him againe: It is not their number that I feare, but their rudenesse and unskillfullnesse, which is hardest of all to deceive. For warlike stratageames doe most prevaile against men that have greatest feare and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing rather then an other. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor have forecast, and therefore doe geve him no more advantage that seeketh to deceive them, then the wrastler by slight is able to overthrowe him, whome he can not sturre nor remove. Afterwardes the Mendesian king him selfe sent unto Agesilaus, to winne him if he could. Nectanebos then beganne to be affrayed. For when Agesilaus counselled him to trye it by battell as soone as he could, and not to prolonge this warre against ignoraunt men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their overmultitude, might intrenche him rounde about, and prevent him in divers thinges: then he beganne to feare and suspect him more, and thereuppon retyred into a great citie well walled about, and of great strength. Agesilaus beinge offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardlie: but being ashamed to turne againe unto the third, and also to departe without any exployte done, he followed him, and enclosed him selfe within those walles. The enemies pursuinge him hard, came unto the citie, and beganne to entrenche it rounde, to keepe him in. Then the Egyptian Nectanebos fearing a longe siege, determined to geve them battell. Thereto the hyered Græcians gave consent, as desiringe no better matche, and the rather also for that there was but small store of corne within the citie. But Agesilaus

AGESILAUS

In whom stratageames take most effect.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS

perswadinge the contrarie, would in no wise consent to it: whereuppon the Egyptians thought worse of him then before, and plainely called him traytor to their kinge. Howebeit he did pacientlie beare all their accusations, expectinge time to performe an exployte he entended, which was this: The enemies had cast a deepe trenche without, to compasse them in. When this trenche drewe neere to ende, and that both endes lacked not much of meetinge, tarryinge till night came on, he commaunded the Græcians to arme, and to put them selves in readinesse: then he came unto the Egyptian, and sayed unto him: Loe here is an excellent occasion presented to save thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I saw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing least otherwise we shoulde have lost it. Nowe sith the enemies them selves have with their owne handes geven us the way to save our selves by this trenche they have cast, the which as muche as is finished thereof dothe hinder their great multitude to helpe them selves, and that which is yet left unfinished dothe geve us oportunitie to fight with them of even hande: determine to shewe thy valure, and followinge us, save thy selfe and thy people. For the enemies which we shall assayle before us, shall never be able to abide us: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth us on our side, can no way hurte us. Nectanebos hearinge his wordes, wondered at his great wisedome, and so thrustinge in amonge the Græcians, did assayle the enemies: the which were soone overthrowen and put to flight, as many as durst resist, and make heade against them. Agesilaus havinge wonne Nectanebos againe to trust him, he once againe deceived his enemies with the like subtiltie wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knewe not howe to avoyde. For one while he made as though he fled, and intised them to followe him: sodainely againe he woulde turne this waye and that waye. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight sluce, walled about of either side, with great broade ditches full of runninge water: so that when they were even in the middest of it, he sodainely stopped their passage with the fronte of his battell, which he cast to the breadthe of the sluce, and

The stratageame of Agesilaus against the Egyptians.

Digitized by Google

thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compasse him in behinde, nor flanke him on the sides. They having in this sorte made some small resistaunce, in the ende turned their backes and fled, and left a great number slaine in the fielde: the residue after that last overthrowe forsooke their Captaines, and fled straglingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this Egyptian king after that time had good successe, and was quietly stablished in his kingdom, making much of Agesilaus: and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes hasten home to his contrie, which was in warre with others, knowing that his citie of Sparta was without money, bicause they were driven to geve pay unto straungers. Thereuppon Nectanebos in thende tooke his leave of him very honorably, presenting him a gift (besides all other honors he did him) of two hundred and thirtie silver tallentes in readie money, to defray the charges of the warre in his contrie. Howbeit the sea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, having notwithstanding recovered land with his shippes in a desert place of the coast of Lybia, which was called the haven of Menelaus, after he was foure score and foure yeare old: of the which he had raigned one and fortie yeares king of Sparta, and thirty yeares thereof and more he was alwayes taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Chiefetaine generall of all Græce, untill the battell of Leuctres. Now the Lacedæmonians having a custome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their contrie, in the same place where they departed: (the bodies of their kinges excepted) the Spartans which were at that time about Agesilaus, annoynted his bodie with waxe for lacke of honny, and caried him home to Sparta in this maner. His sonne Archidamus succeeded him in the kingdom, whose issue successively raigned continually after him, unto the time of Agis (who was the fift king in succession after Agesilaus) whom in deede Leonidas put to death, bicause he sought to restore the Lacedæmonians auncient discipline and forme of life.

The liberality of king Nectanebos unto Agesilaus.

The death of Agesilaus.

The raigne of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus body noynted with waxe for lacke of honie.

THE END OF THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS

Digitized by Google

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF POMPEY

The father of Pompey hated in Rome.

THE Romanes seeme to have loved Pompey from his childhoode, with the selfe affection that Prometheus in the tragedie of Æschylus appeareth to have borne unto Hercules, after that he was delivered by him: when he sayd,

> So great a hate I bare not to the father,
> But that I love the sonne of him much rather.

Strabo, the father of Pompey.

For the Romanes never shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, than they did unto Strabo Pompeys father. Truely so long as he lived, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for in deede he was a noble Captaine: but being striken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villannie. Contrariewise, never any other Romane (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and adversity continued lenger constant, then unto Pompey. One only cause procured the fathers hate, and that was: an unsatiable and greedy desire of money. But Pompey his sonne, was for many occasions beloved. As, for temperance of life, aptnesse to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curtesie in conversation: so that there was never man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gave without disdaine, and tooke with great honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he spake: for his countenaunce was sweete, mixed with gravetie, and being come to mans state, there appeared in his jesture and behaviour, a grave and princely majestie. His heare also stoode a litle upright, and the cast and soft moving of his eyes, had a certaine resemblaunce (as they

The Love of the Romanes unto Pompey.

The favour of Pompey.

Digitized by Google

sayd) of the statues and images of king Alexander. And bicause everie man gave him that name, he did not refuse it him selfe: insomuch as there were some which sporting-wise did openly call him Alexander. Whereupon Lucius Philippus a Consull, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompeys favor, that it was no marvell if he being Philip, did love Alexander. It is reported also, that when Flora the curtisan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with Pompey beinge a younge man: telling that after she had layen with him, she could not possiblie rise from him, but she must needes geve him some sweete quippe or pleasaunt taunte. She woulde tell also howe one of Pompeys familiars and companions called Geminius, fell in love with her, and was a marvelous earnest suter to obtaine her good will: and that she aunswered him flatly, she would not, for the love she bare to Pompey. Geminius thereuppon brake the matter to Pompey him selfe. Pompey desirous to pleasure him, graunted the request: howebeit Geminius after that, would not come neere Flora, nor speake unto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loved her. But Flora tooke this not curtisan like, for she was sicke a long time for very griefe of minde, and the thought she tooke uppon it. All this notwithstanding, it is sayd that this Flora had then such fame for her passing grace and beautie, that Cæcilius Metellus seting foorth and beautifying, the temple of Castor and Pollux, with goodly tables and pictures: among the rest, he caused her picture to be lively drawen for her excellent beawtie. Furthermore Pompey, against his nature, delt very hardly and uncurteously with the wife of Demetrius, his franchised bondeman (who while he lived was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thowsand tallentes) fearing to be taken with her beautie which was verie singularlie fayer, least he should be thought in love with her. Now, though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst, yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wives, he would let passe and winke at many thinges, that was against the profit of

Flora the curtisan loved Pompey.

Flora the curtisan was passing fayer.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

The temperaunce of Pompey in dyet.

the common wealth? To prove his sober and temperate diet, and howe he was contented with common meates: a word (they say) he spake when he was verie sicke, and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomake to him againe, his Phisitian willed him to eate a thrushe. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no thrushe to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at Lucullus house, for he kept them up all the yeare through. Why, what then, sayd he: if Lucullus ryot were not, should not Pompey live? Therewithall, letting his Phisitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was every where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the fielde with his father, that was in armes against Cinna: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called Lucius Terentius, who being bribed with money, had promised Cinna to kill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their Captaines tent a fire. This conspiracy was revealed unto Pompey as he sate at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with Terentius then of custome. So when it was bed time, he stale out of his owne tent, and went unto his father to provide for his safetie. Terentius thinkinge the hower come to attempt his enterprise, rose with his sword in his hande, and went to Pompeys bed where he was wont to lye, and gave many a thrust into the matteresse. After he had done that, all the campe straight was in an uprore for the malice they bare unto their Captaine, and the souldiers in all hast would needes have gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning alreadie to overthrowe their tentes, and to trusse away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durst not come out of his tent: notwithstanding Pompey his sonne ranne amongest the mutinous souldiers, and humbly besought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe him selfe flatling to the grounde overthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them marche over him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The souldiers being ashamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodg-

The treason of Lucius Terentius against Pompey.

Digitized by Google

inge, and chaunging minde, reconciled them selves with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that Strabo, Pompeys father, was departed out of the worlde, Pompey beinge his heire, was accused for the father, to robbe the common treasure. Howebeit he confessed, and avowed, that it was Alexander one of his fathers infranchised bondemen that had stollen the most parte of it, and brought him in before the Judges. Notwithstanding, he was accused him selfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes, that were taken at Asculum. He confessed the having of them, and that his father gave him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had lost them sence, when Cinna returned unto Rome with his souldiers, who breaking into his house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitive sentence, in which time Pompey shewed him selfe of good spirite and understanding, more then was looked for in one of his yeares: insomuch he wanne such fame and favor by it, that Antistius being Prætor at that time, and judge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by frends broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conveyed, but the people perceived it, by the care and paines Antistius tooke to favor his matter. Insomuch, when the Iudges gave judgement, and cleered him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, Talassio, Talassio, being the usuall and common crie they used of olde time at mariages in Rome. This custome by reporte of auncient folke came up in this manner. At what time the chiefest peeres and Lordes of Rome did ravishe the Sabines daughters, which came to Rome to see common sportes played: there chaunsed a fewe rascalls (as hoggeherdes or neatherdes) to carie away a goodly fayer woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the streetes as they went, Talassio, as if they would have sayd, She is for Talassius. This Talassius was a young gentleman well knowen, and beloved of most men: so that such as heard

Pompey accused for robbing the common treasure.

The cause of the crie of Talassio at mariages in Rome.

Digitized by Google

him but named only, did clappe their hands for joy, and cried out with them, Talassio, commending the choyce they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that ever since they have cried this word Talassio unto them that are newly maried, bicause the mariage of that fayer young maid proved fortunate, and happy unto Talassius. And this me thinkes soundeth neerest to the troth of that they reporte of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this judgement geven, Pompey maried Antistia. After that, going unto Cinnaes campe, they wrongfully accused him for somewhat, whereupon he being afrayed, secretly stale away. Now when they could not finde him in Cinnaes campe, there ran straight a rumor abroade, that Cinna had put him to death. Theruppon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did set uppon him for this occasion. But he thinking to save him selfe by flying, was straight overtaken by a private Captaine that followed him with his sworde drawen in his hande. Cinna seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it to him. Tushe, sayd the Captaine, I come not to seale any covenaunt, but to chastice a villaine and cruell tyranne: and therewithall thrust his sword thorowe him, and slue him presently. Cinna being slaine in this sorte, Carbo succeeded him, and tooke the government in hande, being a more cruell tyranne than the first. Shortly after came in Sylla, being wished for, and desired of the most parte of the Romanes, for the grievous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought them selves happy to chaunge Governor: for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recover her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of Italie called Picenum (nowe the marches of Ancona) where he had certaine inheritaunce, but much more, great love and good will of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of Rome forsooke their houses and goodes, to flie from all partes unto Syllaes campe, as unto a place of safetie: would not goe to him as a fugitive and cast away to save him selfe, without bringing him

Pompey maried Antistia.

The death of Cinna.

Digitized by Google

some power to increase his armie, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe him selfe pleasure. So he felt the good will of the Picentines, who willingly tooke his parte, and rejected them that were sent by Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, said: that Pompey which came from schoole the last day, must now in hast be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hande. After that time, Pompey being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receive no authoritie from any man, tooke it apon him himself, and causing a tribunal to be set up in the middest of the market place of Auximum, a great populous city: he commaunded the two brethren called the Ventidians (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for Carboes sake withstoode his doinges) without delay foorthwith to avoide the citie, and so beganne to leavie men, and to appoint Captaines, sergeaunts of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to marshall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke parte with Carbo, fled every man, and all the rest willingly yeelded unto him: whereby in shorte space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, cartes, and all maner of beastes for cariage. In this sorte he tooke his jorney towardes Sylla, not in hast, as a man affrayed to be met with by the way, but by small jorneyes, staying still where he might hurt his enemy, causing the cities every where as he came to revolt from Carbo. Neverthelesse, three Captaines of the contrarie parte, Carinna, Cælius, and Brutus, all three did sette apon Pompey together, not all in a fronte, nor of one side, but in three severall places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to have made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his horsemen (among the which he was him selfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were Gaules, comming to geve charge apon him, he ranne one of the chiefest among them through with his launce, and slue him.

Pompeyes first Captainshippe under Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23 yeares of age.

The citie of Auximum.

Pompey goeth unto Sylla.

Pompeys victories of the Marians.

Digitized by Google

The other Gaules seeing him slaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footemen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among them selves, and some fled one way, some an other way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare: came all in to Pompey, and yeelded them selves. Afterwardes Scipio the Consull, comming against Pompey to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to joyne: before they came to throwing of their dartes, Scipioes souldiers saluted Pompeys men, and went on their side. So Scipio was driven to flie. And in fine, Carbo him selfe having sent after him divers troupes of horsemen by the river of Arsis: Pompey made towards them, and did so fiercely assaile them, that he drave them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yeelded them selves, horse and armor, all to his mercie. Sylla all this while heard no newes of these overthrowes: wherefore, as soone as he understoode of it, fearing least Pompey should miscarie, being environned with so many Captaines of his enemies, he made hast to marche towardes him for to aide him. Pompey understanding of his approache, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might see them bravely appointed when he should present them unto him: for he looked that Sylla would doe him great honor, and in deede he did him more honor, then Pompey looked for. For, when Sylla saw him a farre of comming towardes him, and his armie marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so bravely advaunced them selves, being coragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted a foote. When Pompey also came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or soveraine Prince) Sylla resaluted him with the selfe name, beyonde all mens expectacion present, litle thinking that he would have geven so honorable a name, unto so young a man as Pompey, who had not yet bene Senator: considering that he him selfe did contende for that title and dignitie, with the faction of Marius and Scipio.

Pompey joyned with Sylla.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

Digitized by Google

Furthermore, the entertainment that Sylla gave him every way, was aunswerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would rise and put of his cappe to him, which he did not unto many other noble men about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in him selfe. Wherefore when Sylla would straight have sent him into Gaule, bicause Metellus that was there, was thought to have done no exployte worthie of so great an armie as he had with him: Pompey answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an auncient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than him selfe. Yet if Metellus of him selfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entring Gaule, did of him selfe wonderfull exploytes, and did so revive Metellus olde corage and valliantnes to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poored upon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and dissolve it, as fast or faster, then fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath bene counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, having ever borne the price away where he hath wrestled, they never recorde among them his childishe victories and wrestlinges, as thinges of no account: even so I am affrayed to speake of the wonderfull deedes that Pompey did in his childhoode, bicause they are obscured, in respect of the infinite great warres and battells which he had wonne afterwardes. For I am affrayed that whither lest I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe over his chiefest actes and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had overcome all Italie, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenaunts and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did advance them to honorable place and dignity in the common wealth, frankely graunting them all that they requested of him. But for Pompey, reverencing him for his valliantnes, and thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his warres: he sought by some meanes to

The honor Sylla did unto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.

Wonderfull victories of Pompey.

Digitized by Google

Pompey put away his wife Antistia, and maried Æmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.

allie him to him. Metella his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to marrie Æmylia the daughter of Metella, and of her first husband, the which also was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husbande. These mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for Syllaes time, rather then agreable to Pompeys nature and condicion: to see Æmylia, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husbande, to marrie her great with childe, and shamefully to forsake Antistia, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husbande that did put her away. For Antistius was murdered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take parte with Sylla for his sonne in lawe Pompeys sake: and her mother voluntarily put her selfe to death, seeinge her daughter received such open wrong. By these apparant causes, these unfortunate mariages fell out into a miserable tragedie, by meanes of the death of Æmylia, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in Pompeys house. Then came newes to Sylla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicile, and that he had made all that Ilande at his devotion, as a safe place to receive all Syllaes enemies: that Carbo also kept the sea thereaboutes with a certaine number of shippes: that Domitius also was gone into Africke: and divers other noble men that were banished, that had scaped his proscriptions and outlawryes, were also in those partes. Against them was Pompey sent with a great armie. Howebeit he no sooner arrived in Sicile, but Perpenna left him the whole Ilande, and went his way. There he favorably delt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miserie, and set them againe at libertie, the Mamertines only excepted, which dwelt in the citie of Messina. They despising his tribunall and jurisdiction, alleaged the auncient order and priviledge of the Romanes, set downe in times past amongest them. But Pompey aunswered them in choller: What doe ye prattle to us of your law, that have our swords by our sides? It seemeth also that Pompey delt too cruellie with Carbo in his miserie. For sith he must needes dye, as there was no remedie but he should: then it had bene better they had killed him when

The death of Antistius.

Pompey sent from Sylla into Sicile.

Lawe must geve place to armes.

Digitized by Google

he was taken. For then they would have imputed it to his malice, that so had commaunded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him that had bene thrise Consull at Rome to be openly examined, and he sitting in his chaire of state or tribunall condemned him to dye in presence of them all: to the great offence and mislik-ing of every one that was present. So Pompey bad them take him away, and carie him to execution. When Carbo came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the sword drawen that should strike of his head: he prayed thexecutioners to geve him a litle respit and place to untrusse a poynt, for he had a paine in his bellie. Caius Oppius also (one of Iulius Cæsars frends) wryteth, that he delt verie cruelly in like maner with Quintus Valerius. For Pompey, sayd he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like unto him: when he was brought unto him, he tooke him a side, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his gard to carie him away, and to dispatche him. Howbeit we may not geve too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Iulius Cæsars frendes or foes. For Pompey in deede was compelled to make away the greatest personages of Syllaes enemies that fell into his handes, being notoriously taken: but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not understand it: and moreover did helpe some besides to save them selves. Nowe Pompey was determined to have taken sharpe revenge of the citie of the Himerians, which had stowtly taken the enemies parte. But Sthenis, one of the Governours of the citie, craving audience of Pompey, tolde him he should doe them wrong and injustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durst take uppon him to father the offence of them all: Sthenis aunswered straight, that it was him selfe that had perswaded his frendes, and compelled his enemies to doe that which they did. Pompey being pleased to heare the franke speech and boldnes of this man,

The death of Carbo.

The death of Q. Valerius.

The bolde speache of Sthenis.

Digitized by Google

Pompey sealed up his souldiers swordes.

first forgave him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other Himerians. Pompey understanding that his souldiers did kill divers men in the high wayes, he sealed up all their swordes, and whose seale soever was broken, he was well favoredly punished. Pompey being busie about these matters in Sicile, received letters and commission from Sylla and the Senate, to departe thence immediatly into Africke, to make warre upon Domitius, with all his power, who had leavied already more men of warre, than Marius had, not long before, when he came out of Africke into Italie: and had there overthrowen all the Romanes doinges, being become of a fugitive outlaw, a cruell tyranne. Pompey thereupon having speedily put him selfe in readines to take the seaes, left Memmius his sisters husband Governor of Sicile: and so him selfe imbarked, and hoysed saile with six score gallies, and eight hundred other shippes or bottomes, to transport their vittells, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatsoever. After he was landed with all his fleete, parte at Utica, and parte at Carthage: there straight came to him seven thowsand souldiers from the enemies, and yelded them selves, besides seven whole legions that he brought with him. They say moreover, that at his arrivall, he had a pleasaunt chaunce happened unto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his souldiers stumbled on a treasure by chaunce, and got thereby a great masse of money. The residue of the armie hearing that, thought sure that the field where this treasure was found, was full of golde and silver, which the Carthaginians had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. Pompey hereuppon, for many dayes after, coulde have no rule of his souldiers, neither coulde he choose but laugh, to see so many thowsande men digging the grounde, and turning up the fielde: untill in the ende they wearied them selves, and came and prayed him then to lead them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. Domitius came to Pompey with his army set in battel ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamyre before him that ran with a swift running streame, verie ill to get over: besides that, from the verie breake of

Pompeis jorney into Africke under Sylla, against Domitius.

Domitius camped by Pompey with his army.

Digitized by Google

day it had poored downe and rained so fast, and was so great a winde withall, that Domitius thinking all that day they shoud not fight, commaunded his people to trusse away, and remove. Pompey on thother side, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, sodainly made his men to march, and passed over the valley. The enemies perceiving that, being altogether out of order: were marvelosly amazed, and in that hurly burly would have made resistaunce. But they were neither all together, nor yet evenly set in battell ray, and had besides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the storme much hurt unto the Romanes also, for they coulde not one see an other: insomuch as Pompey him selfe was in great daunger of being killed by one of his owne souldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and he was somewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had overthrowen his enemies with great slaughter: (for they say, that of twenty thowsand of them, there were but three thowsand saved) Pompeis souldiers saluted him by the name of Imperator. But he aunswered them, that he would not accept the honor of that name, so long as he saw his enemies campe yet standing: and therefore, if it were so they thought him worthie of that name, that first they should overthrow the trenche and forte of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The souldiers when they heard him say so, went presently to assault it. There Pompey fought bare headed, to avoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it slewe Domitius. After that overthrowe, the cities in that contrie came and yeelded them selves, some willingly, and others taken by force: as also they tooke king Iarbas, that had fought for Domitius, and his realme was geven to Hiempsall. But Pompey, being desirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes jorney into the maine lande, and still conquered all where he came, making the power of the Romanes dreadfull unto all the barbarous people of that contrie, the which made but small account of them at that time. He sayd moreover, that the wilde beastes of Africke also should feele the force and good successe of the Romanes:

POMPEY

Pompeis victory of Domitius.

Domitius slaine.

Pompey tooke king Iarbas.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

and thereupon he bestowed a few dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes space at the uttermost, he had overcome his enemies, subdued Africke, and had stablished the affaires of the kinges and kingdomes of all that contry, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned unto the citie of Utica, letters were brought from Sylla, willing him to discharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of an other Captaine that should be sent to succeede him in the government of that contrie. This commaundement, grieved him not a litle, though he made no shewe of it at all: but his souldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pompey prayed them to departe, they began to geve out broade speeches against Sylla, and told directly that they were not determined (whatsoever became of them) to forsake him, and they would not that he should trust unto a tyran. Pompey seeing that he could not perswade them, by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his chayer, and retyred into his tent weeping. But the souldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chayer of state, where he spent a great parte of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and commaund them, and he desiring them to obey Sylla, and leave their mutinies. But in fine, seeing them importunate to presse him to it, he sware he would kill him selfe, rather then they should compell him: yet they scant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported unto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sylla when he heard that, sayd to his frendes: Well, then I see it is my destiny, in mine olde dayes to fight with children. He ment so, bicause of Marius the younger, who had done him much mischiefe, and had besides put him in great daunger. But afterwards understanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in Rome were determined to goe and meete Pompey, and to receive him with all the honor they coulde: bicause he would goe beyond them all in shew of good will, he went out of his house to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to say great, and commaunded all them that were present to geve him

Pompeis conquestes at 24 yeares of age.

The love of the souldiers unto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.

Digitized by Google

that name also. This notwithstanding, some say, that it was in Africke this name was first geven him by a common crie of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. In dede it is true that Pompey him selfe being sent Proconsul into Spayne long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the great: for this name then was so commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did envy it. And therefore rightly is the wisedom of the auncient Romanes, to be both commended and had in admiration: which did not only reward service in the field with such honorable names and titles, but civill service and good government also in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at Rome called Maximi, to say, very great: of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwext the people and Senate. The other was Fabius Rullus, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchised, who through their riches and favor had obtained that place. After that, Pompey required the honor of triumphe, but Sylla denied it, alleaging that none could enter in triumphe into Rome, but Consulls or Prætors. For sith Scipio the first who in Spayne had overcome the Carthaginians, never desired this honor of triumphe, being neither Consull nor Prætor: much lesse should he stande apon demaund of triumphe into Rome, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and besides, it would purchase him envy of his honor and greatnes. These reasons did Sylla alleage against Pompey, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankely againe, how men did honor the rising, not the setting of the sunne: meaning thereby, how his owne honor encreased, and Syllaes diminished. Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he sayd, but perceiving by their countenaunces that stoode by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he sayd. When it was tolde him, he marvelled at the boldnes of so young a man, and then cried out twise together, Let him then triumphe a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, Pompey (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needes be brought

The wisedom of the Romanes commended for rewardinge foreine and home service.

Valerius and Rullus called Maximi, in Rome.

Pompeis stowt aunswere unto Sylla.

Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth against the law.

Digitized by Google

in in triumphant chariot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from those kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrowe, he was driven to leave the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horses. Now his souldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe: he sayd he passed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumphe, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereuppon, there was a famous man at that time called Servilius, who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompeys triumphe, who sayd openly: Now I know that Pompey in deede is great, and deserveth triumphe. Being evident enough, that if he would, he might then have easily bene made Senator: he sued not for that, but as they say, sought honor by a straunger meane lesse honorable. For if he had bene made Senator so young, it had not bene so great a matter: but to have such honor before he was Senator, that was marvelously to be noted. But this wanne him the more favor and good will still amongest the common people: for they were glad when after his triumphe they saw him in companie amongest the Romane Knights. On thother side it spighted Sylla to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credit: notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to kepe it to him selfe, untill that Pompey by force and against Syllaes will, had brought Lepidus to be Consull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furdered his desire. Theruppon Sylla seeing Pompey returning overthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he sayd unto him: O young man, I see thou art glad of this victory, and so hast thou cause, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such favor of the people, as for thy sake to have made Lepidus Consull (the vilest person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe not, and looke well to thy busines, for thou hast advaunced a daungerous enemy to thy selfe. Now the chiefest thing wherein Sylla discovered most his ill will

Marcus Lepidus created Consull.

Digitized by Google

unto Pompey, was in his last will and testament: for he gave legacies unto every one of his frendes, and some of them he made tutors and overseers of his sonne, but he made no mencion of Pompey at all. This notwithstanding, Pompey tooke it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would have kept Syllaes body from buriall in the field of Mars, and that his funeralls should not be openly solemnised: he contrarywise brought him very honorably and safely to the ground. Shortly after Syllaes death, his wordes of prophecie unto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proved true. For Lepidus usurping the authoritie which Sylla had before, not colourablie, but openly entred straight in armes, sturring up againe those of Marius faction, whom Sylla could not be revenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Consull Catulus (whom the best and soundest parte of the people followed) was thought a marvelous honest man, both just and modest: howbeit, a better Governor in peace, then a good man of warre, insomuch as time required Pompeys skill and experience. So Pompey stoode not doubtfull which way he would dispose him selfe, but tooke parte straight with the nobility and honestest men, and was presently chosen Captaine of their armie against Lepidus: who had already wonne the greatest parte of Italie, and with an army under the conduct of Brutus, kept Gaule on this side the mountaines, called Gallia Cisalpina. And for the rest, Pompey easily overcame it: howbeit he lay a long time before Modona, besieging of Brutus. In the meane season Lepidus came to Rome, and being hard at the walls demaunding the second Consulship, made them affrayed in the city with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all sortes. Howebeit this feare was cooled straight, by a letter which Pompey wrote to Rome, advertising how he had ended this warre without any bloodshed: for Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded him selfe unto Pompey, who gave him a certaine number of horsemen that conducted him to a litle towne apon the river of Poe: where the next day after, Geminius being sent by Pompey, slue him. But hereof Pompey was

Sylla fallen from the love of Pompey.

Lepidus moveth civill warre.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

greatly blamed, for that he had wrytten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how Brutus had put him selfe into his handes: and afterwardes wrote letters to the contrary, which burdened him for putting of him to death. This Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwardes with the helpe of Cassius slue Iulius Cæsar: howbeit he shewed not him selfe so like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did. As we have declared more at large in his life. Furthermore, Lepidus being driven to forsake Italie, fled into Sardinia, where he dyed (as it is reported) of a sickenesse that he had, not for any sorowe or griefe of his owne affayers, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time Sertorius in Spayne, who was an other maner of warrier then Lepidus, and that kept the Romanes in great awe: for that all the fugitives of the late civill warres were fled to him, as from the last disease of the warres. He had already overthrowen many inferior Captaines, and was now wrestling with Metellus Pius, that in his youth had bene a noble souldier, but now being old, made warres but slowly, and would not coragiously take present occasions offered him, which Sertorius by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would ever hover about him, when he thought least of him, like a Captaine rather of theeves then of souldiers, and would still lay ambushes in every corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heavy armed. Hereuppon Pompey keping his army alway together, practised at Rome, that he might be sent into Spayne to aide Metellus. But Catulus, notwithstanding that he commaunded him to disperse his army, Pompey still kept them together by colour of new devises, and was continually about Rome in armes, untill that by Lucius Philippus meanes he had obtained the government of that contry. They say that one of the Senators marveling to heare Philip propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: How now Philip, dost thou then thinke it meete to send Pompey Proconsull (to say, for a Consull) into Spayne? No truely sayd Philip, not Procon-

Brutus the father, slaine by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

The valliantnes of Sertorius in Spayne.

Digitized by Google

sull only, but pro Consulibus: (to say, for both the Consulls) meaning, that both the Consulls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in Spayne, men began straight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new Governors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereuppon Sertorius gave out prowde and bitter words against Pompey, saying in mockery, he would have no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were not affrayed of this old woman: meaning Metellus the old man. But notwithstanding these gallant bragges, he stoode better upon his gard, and went stronger to fight then he did before, being affrayed of Pompey. For Metellus was very dissolute of life (which no man would have judged in him) and was geven over too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a marvelous sodaine chaunge both of his pompe and glory which he used before, as also the cuttinge of of his superfluous expence. That thinge, besides that he did honor Pompey greatly by it, wan him also much more the good will of the people, when they saw that he drew him selfe downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne disposition he was a grave man, and temperatly geven for his desires. In this warre fortune chaunged diversly, as it is commonly seene in warres: but nothing grieved Pompey more then Sertorius winning of the city of Lauron. For he thinking to have shut him in, and had geven out some glorious wordes of the matter: wondred when he saw him selfe straight compassed in, that he could not sturre out of the campe where he lay, and was driven besides to see the citie burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwardes at a set battell by the citie of Valentia, he slue Herennius and Perpenna, both notable souldiers and Sertorius Lieutenauntes, and with them ten thowsand men. This victory so encoraged Pompey, that he made hast to fight with Sertorius alone, bicause Metellus should have no parte of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the river of Sucron, about sunne set, both fearing Metellus comming: the one that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doutfull in the end of the battell: for either of their winges

Pompeys jorney into Spayne against Sertorius.

Metellus geven to ryot and pleasure.

Sertorius wan the city of Lauron in the sight of Pompey.

Pompey slue Herennius and Perpenna.

Battell betwext Pompey and Sertorius.

Sucron fl.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY had the upper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, Sertorius had the greater honor: for he alone overcame all them that stoode before him. And as for Pompey, there was a great man of armes that being a foote, came and set upon him, and having both their swordes in their handes, they both lighted apon their handes, but not both in one sorte: for Pompeys hand was but litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut of. Then Pompeys men fell apon him, all his owne fellowes on that side being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he saved him selfe after a straunge sorte, by casting up his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, having a caparison of great value: and in the meane time, while they were busie deviding this booty among them, and fighting for it: he scaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the fielde, to confirme the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But Metellus came to Pompey at that present time, whereupon Sertorius went his way, and dispersed his army: for his campe was easily broken, and sodainly gathered againe together. For Sertorius would somtime wander the fieldes alone, and at an other time againe he would have a hundred and fifty thowsande fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement streame that somtime is dried up, and that sodainly againe is all of a flood. Pompey after this battell going to welcome Metellus, when they came neere one an other, he commaunded his sergeauntes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they caried before him, to honor Metellus withall, who was a better man than him selfe. But Metellus would not suffer them, but shewed him selfe equall with him in that, and in all thinges else, not respecting his seniority, nor that he had bene Consull, and Pompey not, saving when they camped together, Metellus gave the watch word to all the campe. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped a sunder, for their enemy that was so flitting from place to place, and was seene in so sundry places in so short time, compelled them to be a sunder to foresee the worst, drawing them sodainly from one purpose to an other: so that in fine,

The modesty of Pompey and Metellus.

Digitized by Google

cutting them of from vittells every way, spoyling their contry, and keeping the sea side, he drave them both out of the provinces of their charge which they had in Spayne, and did compell them to goe some other where, for lacke of vittels. Pompey in the meane time having spent the most parte of his goods in this warre, sent to Rome for money to pay his souldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they sent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into Italie. Lucullus then beinge Consull, though Pompeys enemy, procured they should send him money: for he practised to be sent Captaine against king Mithridates, and therefore was affrayed to geve Pompey any occasion to returne, who desired nothing more then to leave Sertorius, to bend his force against Mithridates, whose overthrow should be more honorable to him, and also lesse daungerous. In the meane space, Sertorius dyed, being betrayed by those whom he thought his frendes, among the which Perpenna was the chiefe man, that after Sertorius death would needes counterfeate his doinges, having the same meanes, the same furniture, and the same power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit, and skill to employ them. Pompey therefore marching directly towardes him, and finding how ignorant Perpenna was in his affayers: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he sent to praye in the fields, commaunding them to disperse them selves abroad as farre as they could, one from an other. Perpenna straight tooke the occasion, and gave them charge, and had them in chase. But Pompey tarying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army set in order: he gave him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this warre, bicause the most of the Captaines were slaine in the field, and Perpenna the chiefe of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein Pompey was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor oblivion (as some do burden him) of Perpennaes frendship shewed him in Sicile, but rather deserved praise to have determined so wisely for the benefit of the common wealth. For Perpenna having in his custody all Sertorius wrytings, (he shewed letters of the greatest noble men of Rome, which were desirous of chaunge of government) willing

Pompey overcame Perpenna, and slue him.

Digitized by Google

him to returne into Italie. Pompey upon sight of these letters, fearing least they would breede greater sedition and sturre in Rome, then that which was already pacified: put Perpenna to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his papers and wrytinges, not reading any letter of them. Then Pompey remaining in Spayne a certaine time, till he had pacified all commocions and tumultes, marvelously out of order: he brought his army backe againe into Italie, and arrived there when the warre of the bondmen and fensers led by Spartacus, was in greatest furie. Upon his comming therefore, Crassus being sent Captaine against these bondmen, made hast to geve them battell, which he wan, and slue twelve thowsand, three hundred of these fugitive slaves. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to geve Pompey some parte of this honor, five thowsand of these bondmen escaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon, he having overcome them, wrote unto the Senate that Crassus had overcome the fensers in battell, and that he had pluckt up this warre by the rootes. The Romanes receiving Pompeys letters, were very glad of this newes for the love they bare him. But as for the winning of Spayne againe, and the overthrow of Sertorius, there was no man, although it were in sporte, that ever gave any man else the honor, but unto Pompey only. For all this great honor and love they bare unto Pompey, yet they did suspect him, and were affrayed of him, bicause he did not disperse his army, that he would follow Syllaes steppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon, as many went to meete him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this suspicion quite out of their heades, telling them that he would discharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothing else, but that he was more enclined to the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a desire to restore the Tribuneshippe of the people, which Sylla had put downe, only to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which in deede was true. For the common people at Rome never longed for thing more, than they did to see the office of the Tribune sette up againe. Yea, Pompey him selfe thought it the

Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like also did Iulius Cæsar when he overcame Pompey.

Pompey overcame the rest of the bondemen.

Digitized by Google

happiest turne that ever came to him, to light in such a time, to doe such an acte. For, had any other man prevented him of that, he coulde never have founde the like occasion possiblie to have requited the peoples good willes unto him, so much as in that. Nowe therefore, his seconde triumphe and first Consullshippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothinge the greater, or better man. And yet was it a shewe and signification of his greatnesse, the which Crassus (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time delt in matters of state, and made more estimacion of him selfe then of Pompey and all the rest) never durst once demaunde: before he had craved Pompeys goodwill. Pompey was very glad of his request, and had sought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest sute unto the people for him, assuringe them he would as much thanke them for making Crassus his colleague and fellowe Consull, as he would, for making him selfe Consull. All this notwithstandinge, when they were created Consulls, they were in all thinges contrarie one to an other, and never agreed in any one thing while they were Consulls together. Crassus had more authority with the Senate, but Pompey had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and passed by edict, that the Knightes of Rome should have full power againe to judge causes civill and criminall. It was a pleasaunt sight also to the people, when he came unto the Censors in person, to pray that he might be dispenst with for goinge to the warres. For it was an auncient custome in Rome, that the Knightes of Rome havinge served a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middest of the market place before the two Censors, declaring every Captaine under whome they had served, in what jorneys and contries they had bene, and havinge also delivered accompt of their good behavior and service, they then prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Nowe if it appeared that they had done good service, there were they honorablie rewarded: or otherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, Gellius and Lentulus the two Censors, being honorablie sette

Pompey and Crassus first Consullshippe.

The custome of the Knights in Rome.

Pompey as a Knight of Rome, sueth to be discharged from the warres.

Digitized by Google

in their tribunall or judgement seate, taking viewe of all the Romane Knightes that mustered before them, to be seene and examined: they marveled when they sawe Pompey comminge at the further ende of the market place, havinge all the markes of a Consull borne before him, and him selfe leading his horse in his hande by the bridle. When Pompey came neerer, and that they sawe it was he, he commaunded his sergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Censors sate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and rejoycing, being verie silent. The Censors them selves also were marvelous glad to see him so obedient to the lawe, and did him great reverence. In fine, the elder of the Censors, did examine him in this sorte: Pompey the great, I pray thee tell me if thou hast served so long time in the warres, as the lawe doth appoint? Then aunswered Pompey alowde: Yes verily that I have, and under no other Captaine then my selfe. The people hearing that aunswere, made an open showte for joy, they were so glad to heare it: and the Censors them selves came from their judgement seate, and went to accompanie Pompey home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their handes, with great signes of joy. At the ende of their Consulshippe, when mislikinge increased further betwext Pompey and Crassus, there was one Gaius Aurelius, of the order of Knighthoode, who till that time never spake in open assembly, but then got up into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how Iupiter had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Consulls from him, that they should not leave their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all these wordes Pompey sturred not. But Crassus first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people: My Lordes, I thinke not my selfe dishonored to geve place to Pompey, sith you your selves have thought him worthie to be called, the great, before he had any heare of his face, and unto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had sayd his minde, they were made frendes together, and so

Pompey sub mitteth him selfe to the Censors.

Pompey and Crassus made frendes.

Digitized by Google

surrendred up their office. Now for Crassus, he held on his former maner of life which he had begon. Pompey as neere as he could gave over to plead mens causes any more, and began litle and litle to withdraw him selfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of judgement, comming seldom abroad, and when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his house, or talke with any man, but he was ever accompanied with a great number, and he rejoyced to him selfe, to see that he had alwaies such a traine with him: for that made him to be honored the more, and gave him greater countenaunce to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonor to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to live like private citizens: bicause they can not facion them selves to be companions with the common people, (who citizen like use a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke fowle scorne if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this meanes when they have a noble warrier amonge them that followeth publike causes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an underling unto them: whereas they doe not otherwise envy any souldiers, that are contented equally to geve them place and authority, as plainly appeared shortly after by Pompey him selfe. By such an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea tooke beginning in the contry of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the first, bicause it was not perceived, untill they grew bold and venturous in king Mithridates warres, being hyered to do him service. And afterwards the Romanes being troubled with civill warres, one fighting with an other even at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while: it set them a gogge, and made them go further then ever they did before. For they did not only rob and spoile all marchant venterers by sea, but rifled also the Ilandes and townes upon the sea coast: insomuch as then there joyned

POMPEY

Pompeys pride and glory.

The beginning of the pirates warre.

The power and insolency of the pirates in Cilicia.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

with them, men of great wealth and nobility, and of great wisedom also, and entred into their fellowshippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set up arsenalls or store houses in sundry places, they had sundry havens and beacons on the land, to geve warning by fire all alongest the sea coast, and those well kept and watcht: moreover, they had great fleetes of shippes, ready furnisht with excellent good galliots of ores, skilfull pilots and mariners, their shippes of swift saile, and pinnases for discovery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the coverinｇes of the same all of purple silke, delighting only to make a glorious show of their pillage. All the sea coast over, there was no sight of any thinge but musicke, singing, banketing, and rioting, prises of Captaines, and men of great quality, and raunsomes of a thowsand prisoners: and all this was to the shame and dishonor of the Romanes.

The pirates navy, a thowsand shippes.

Their ships were about a thowsand in number, and they had taken above foure hundred townes. They had spoiled and destroyed many holy temples that had never bene touched before. As the temple of the twynnes in the Ile of Claros, the temple of Samothracia, the temple of Earth in the city of Hermion, and the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurum: the temples of Neptune in Isthmos, Tænaria, and Calabria: and the temples of Apollo in Actium, in the Ile of Leucades: the temples of Iuno in Samos, in Argos, and in Lucania. They had also many straunge sacrifices and certen ceremonies of religion amongest them selves, in the mount Olympus, and among other, the mistery of Mithres, which is the sunne: and remaineth yet in being unto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent partes and injuries they did the Romanes upon the sea, they went a land, and where they found any houses of pleasure upon the sea coast, they spoiled and destroyed them: and on a time they tooke two Romane Prætors, Sextilius, and Bellinus, being in their purple robes, with their sergeaunts and officers attending on them, and caried them quite away. An other time also they stale away the daughter of Antonius (a man that had received honor of triumphe) as she went a walking

Digitized by Google

abroad in the fields, and she was redemed for a great summe of money. But yet the greatest spight and mockery they used to the Romanes, was this. That when they had taken any of them and that he cried he was a citizen of Rome, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affrayed of that they had done. For they clapped their handes on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgeve them. The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled them selves as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came unto him, and put shooes on his feete: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the Romane facion, for feare, (sayd they) least he should be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their shippe ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he should have no hurt: and if he would not goe of him selfe, then they cast him over the bord by force, and sent him packing. These rovers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commaundement: insomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that sea. And this was the only cause that moved the Romanes, (fearing scarsity of vittells, and a great dearth) to send Pompey to recover the signory againe of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moved it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be only Admirall, or Generall by sea, but should have absolute power to commaunde all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doinges in his charge: was Gabinius, Pompeys frend. The summe of this decree gave him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from Hercules pillers, and of the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlong from the sea. (For the Romanes dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations and mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gave him power to choose of the Senate fifteene Lieutenauntes, to geve unto every one of them, severall provinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the

The pirates scorning of the Romanes, when they were taken.

Gabinius law for Pompeys authority against the pirates.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

Generall receivers of the state, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leavy what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he listed. This law when it had bene read once over among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all envy, but also that it gave them apparant cause of feare, to geve such absolute power unto a private person. Whereupon, they were all against it but Cæsar, who favored the decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey, as the people, whose favor he sought. The noble men fell marvelously out with Pompey: and at the length one of the Consulls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow Romulus steppes, but peradventure he would come shorte of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to have killed him. After that, Catulus stoode up to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, bicause he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of envy, to speake many goodly thinges in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, advised the people to spare him, and not to venter in such daungerous warres (one after an other) a man of so great accompt, as they ought to make of him. If ye chaunce to loose him, sayd he: whom have you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: Your selfe. Then perceiving that he lost his labor, seeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and sayd no more. Roscius rose next after him to speake, but he could have no audience. When he saw that he coulde not be heard, he made a signe with his fingers, that they shoulde not geve Pompey alone this authority, but joyne an other with him. The people being offended with all made such an outcrie uppon it, that a crow flying over the market place at that instant, was striken blinde, and fell downe amongest the people. Whereby it appeareth, that fowle falling out of the ayer to the ground, do not fall for that the ayer is broken or pearced with any force or fury: but bicause the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the ayer) doth strike and overcome

At the voyce of the people, a crow flying fell downe.

Digitized by Google

them. Thus for that day, the assembly brake up, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this decree should passe by voyces of the people, Pompey went abroad into the contry. There being advertised that the decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, bicause he would avoyde the envie they would have borne him to have seene them run out of all partes of the city unto him, to have waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the goddes: and audience being geven him at an open assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gave him many thinges besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set downe and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arme him five hundred shippes, and they leavied for him sixe score thowsand footemen, and five thowsand horsemen, and chose besides foure and twenty Senators, which had every one of them bene Generalls of armies, and two generall Treasorers also. While thinges were thus a preparing, the price of vittels fell by chaunce: which rejoyced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of Pompey only had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he devided all the sea betwene the lands into thirteene regions, and in every of them he appointed a certaine number of his shippes, and moreover, one of his Lieutenauntes over them. Thus having dispersed his power all abroade, he brought all the pirates shippes that were in a fleete together, within his daunger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had dispersed them selves betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase: they fled all into Cilicia, as bees into the beehive, against whom he would needes go him selfe in person with three score of his best shippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scoored all the Thuscane sea, the coastes of Lybia, Sardinia, Sicile, and of Corsica, of all these theeves which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within forty dayes space, taking infinite paines, both him selfe and his Lieutenaunts. Now when one of the Consulls called Piso did all the best he could to hinder Pompeys prepara-

Pompeys preparation against the pirates.

Digitized by Google

tion, and had discharged his ower men, for that he envied Pompeys prosperity: Pompey sent his shippes before to make towardes Italie to arrive at the city of Brundusium. He in the meane time, went through Thuscane to Rome, where, so soone as his comming was knowen, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene absent a long time: and that which made the people more joyfull to see him, was the sodaine chaunge of victals unlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all partes. But Piso went neere to be deprived of his Consulshippe: for Gabinius had the decree wrytten, and ready to present to the people. But Pompey would not suffer it. So, having gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went unto the city of Brundusium, and there tooke sea, and hoysed sayle. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe many good cities without comming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passe by the city of Athens, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the goddes, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the city, he red two wrytinges that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which sayd thus:

The curtesie of Pompey unto Piso.

> The humblier that thou doost thy selfe as man behave,
> The more thou doost deserve the name of god to have.

And the other wryting was without the gate, which sayd:

> We wisht for thee, we wayt for thee,
> We worship thee, we wayt on thee.

Nowe bicause Pompey having taken certaine of these rovers by sea that kept together, did use them gently when they required pardon, and having their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled from his other Captaines and Lieutenauntes, and went and yeelded them selves, their wives and children into his handes. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of them selves, and by that meanes he came to have knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, whome he tooke in the ende: but knowinge that they deserved no pardon, they hid them selves. Yet

Digitized by Google

the most parte, and the richest of them, had conveyed their wives, children and goodes, and all other their family unmeete for warres, into strong castells and litle townes apon mount Taurus: and such men as were able to cary weapon, imbarked, and lay before a city of Coracesium, where they taried Pompey, and gave him battell, first by sea, and there were overcome, and afterwardes they were besieged by lande. Howebeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercie, and thereuppon yeelded their bodies, townes, and Ilandes which they had fortified, and were hard to have taken and worse to have approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in lesse then three monthes driven from the sea wheresoever they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure score and tenne gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken, (who were in number above twenty thowsand persones) he did not only consider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise parte on thother side to let them goe at liberty, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as in deede they were, and all poore men and souldiers. Therefore, weying with him selfe, that man by nature is not borne a wild or savage beast, but contrarily becommeth a brute beast chaunging nature, when he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and civill in time, chaunging place and maner of life: (as brute beastes that being wilde by nature doe also become gentle and tractable, with gentler usage by continuance) he determined to draw these pirats from the sea into thupland, and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small townes of the Cilicians, that were scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, geving them land to keepe them with. The city of the Solians also, that not long before had bene destroyed by Tigranes the king of Armenia, being desirous to replenish that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed divers also in the city of Dyma in the contry of Achaia, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great store of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproved him greatly: and for that he

POMPEY

The victory of Pompey unto the pirats.

How men are tamed.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY did in Creta, they that were his best and greatest frendes misliked him. For Metellus that gentle person, (a cosen to that Metellus which was his colleague, and made warres in Spayne with him against Sertorius) was sent Prætor into Creta, before Pompey was chosen Generall against the pirates. This Creta, next unto Cilicia, was even a seconde denne of pirates. Metellus finding there a great number of these theeves, tooke many of them, and put them to death, even all that came to his handes. Then, such as had scaped from him, being straightly besieged, sent unto Pompey to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaringe unto him, that the Ile of Creta was within the precinct of his charge, bicause all partes of that region from the sea came just within the compasse limited him on the land. Pompey pardoning them apon their submission, wrote unto Metellus, and commaunded him to leave of his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they should not obey Metellus commaundementes. After that he sent Lucius Octavius, one of his Lieutenauntes, who entred into the townes Metellus besieged, and fought for the pirates. This made Pompey not only hated and envied, but derided also: for that under his name he had protected such vile theeves, that had neither God nor law, and geven them his authority to save their lives, for a litle envie and emulacion he bare unto Metellus. And therefore they rightly reprove Achilles, and say that he shewed not the parte of a wise man, but of a young foole besides him selfe, for desire of glory, making a signe to the Græcians, forbidding them to strike at Hector, to thend that as Homer sayd:

Pompeys lewd fact against Metellus.

Achilles dishonest fact.

> Least he too late should to the battell runne,
> When others had the honor of it wonne.

But Pompeys fact was worse then this. For he fought for the common enemies of the world, and only to deprive a Romane Prætor of triumphe, who had done great good service to have destroyed them. This notwithstanding, Metellus left not of his warre for Pompeys letters, but having taken the pirates by assault, he put them to death: and afterwardes having done Octavius open shame through his campe,

Digitized by Google

he let him goe. When newes came to Rome, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, and that Pompey having no other service in hand, went visiting the cities up and downe: one Manilius a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree unto them of this effect. That Pompey taking all the army Lucullus had, and the provinces under his government, with al Bithynia, which Glabrio kept: should go make warre upon the kings Tigranes and Mithridates, keping in his handes notwithstanding all his jurisdiction and army by sea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was even to make one man Monarke and absolute Prince, of all the Romane Empire. For by this second decree, he had all these contries not named in his former commission, added to amplifie his authority, as Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, high Colchida and Armenia, with all the armies and forces with the which he had overcomen those two mighty kinges. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the injurie that was offered unto Lucullus, depriving him of the honor of his doinges, to geve it to an other, that should rather succeede him in honor of triumphe, then in daunger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifest injury, and shewed them selves too unthankefull: but that which most grieved them, was to see Pompeys power established in a plaine tyranny. Hereuppon therefore, one of them perswaded and encoraged an other, stowtly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this sorte. Notwithstanding, when the day came that the decree should passe, they were so afrayed to anger the people, that their hartes failed them, and none durst speake against it but Catulus only: that earnestly inveyed against the passing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiving he had wonne never a man to take his parte, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some mountaine or high rocke to retyre safely unto, to defend their liberty, as their ancesters had done in old time before them. All this prevailed not, for the decree passed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made Lorde almost of all that, which Sylla by force of armes and great

Pompey appointed Lucullus successor.

The boldnes of Catulus in disswading Manilius law.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

effusion of blood (having made him selfe Lord of Rome) had before in his power. When Pompey had received letters from Rome, advertising him what the people had past in his behalfe: some say that at the receite of them (in the presence of his familiar frendes that were about him, and rejoyced with him for congratulacion) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieved him marvelously to have such great offices and charge layed upon him, one in the necke of an other, and burst forth in these wordes: O goddes, shall I never see an ende of such a worlde of troubles as I have? Had it not bene better for me to have bene a meane man borne and unknowen, then thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, shall I never see the time, that breaking the neckes of spight and envy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my contrie, with my wife and children? When Pompey spake those wordes, his familiar frendes could not abide to see his deepe dissimulation, knowing that besides his naturall ambition and covetous desire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and Lucullus: which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into every quarter, commaunding all sortes of souldiers to come to him immediatly, and made also all the Princes and kinges within precinct of his charge to come unto him, and going through the contries, altered and chaunged all that Lucullus had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enjoyned them, and tooke from them also the giftes that Lucullus bestowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire: to make them that honored Lucullus know, that he had no further power and authority to doe any thing: Lucullus finding him selfe hardly handled by Pompey, the frends of either side thought good they should meete and talke together: which came so to passe, for they met in the contry of Galatia. And bicause they both were great Captaines of the Romane armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their sergeaunts and officers that caried the bundells of roddes before them, wreathed about with laurell boughs. When they met, Lucullus came out of a close and woddy contry,

Pompeys great dissimulation.

Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia.

Digitized by Google

all covered with greene trees, and Pompey on thother side had passed through a great sandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon Lucullus sergeaunts seeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which Pompeys sergeaunts caried, they gave them of their greene and fresh boughes to beawtifie the roddes and axes. This was a plaine token that Pompey came to take Lucullus honor from him. In troth Lucullus had bene Consull before Pompey, and so was he also older man then he: yet the dignity of Pompey was greater, bicause he had triumphed twise. At their first meting, their entertainment and discourse was with great ceremony and curtesie as might be, one highly praising the others deedes, rejoycing at eche others good successe: but at parting, they fell to hot wordes together, Pompey upbrayding Lucullus avarice, and Lucullus Pompeys ambition, so that their frendes had much a doe to parte them. Lucullus departing thence, devided the landes in Galatia, which he had conquered, and bestowed them and other gifts, on such as he thought good. Pompey on thother side camping hard by him, specially commaunded the people in every parte to obey him in nothing whatsoever he did: and besides, he tooke all his souldiers from him, leaving him only sixteene hundred, which he supposed were such, as for disdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but small service. Furthermore, to bleamish the glory of his doings, he told every body Lucullus had fought with the pompe and shadow only of these two kinges, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, Mithridates being then prepared for warres, with shieldes, swordes, and horses. Lucullus for revenge on the other side sayd, that Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of warre, like a cowardly bussard that prayeth upon dead bodies, which others have slaine: and to cut a sunder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the overthrow of Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus, to him selfe, where in deede Metellus, Crassus, and Catulus did overcome them. And therfore it was no marvell, that he sought the glory and honor to triumphe for the kingdomes of Pontus and Armenia: sith that through his subtill

POMPEY

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

practises he had obtained triumphe for a fewe slaves and fugitives. Lucullus being nowe gone his way, Pompey sent good garrisons unto all the coastes apon the sea, from the province of Phœnicia, unto the realme of Bosphorus. That done, he tooke his jorney by lande towardes Mithridates, who had in his campe thirtie thowsande footemen, and two thowsande horsemen, and yet durst not offer battel, but camped first apon a mountaine of great strength, and hard to get up on: notwithstanding shortly after, he forsooke it for lacke of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompey tooke it. Who, conjecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and also by divers holes he found, that for reason thereabouts should be some springes: he commaunded them to digge welles in every corner, so that in a very short time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at Mithridates, that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In thend, he went and camped rounde about Mithridates, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the siege five and forty dayes, fled away with all the choice of his army, unknowing to Pompey, having first slaine all the sicke and impotent persons within his campe. After that, Pompey found him an other time by the river of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mithridates would passe over the river before he could prevent him in time, he raised his campe againe, and marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that Mithridates sawe that in a dreame, which did prognosticate what should happen. He thought, that having the winde in the poope of his shippe, he was under saile, in the middest of the sea of Mare Bosphorum, and that he was marvelous glad of it, and rejoyced with them that sailed with him, thinking him selfe certainly past all daunger: yet sodainly againe, that all this joy left him, and that he floted up and downe the waves of the sea, apon a litle peece of the shippe that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the windes. As he was troubled with this ill favored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that Pompey was come so neere, that there was no shift, but they

Pompeys jorney against Mithridates.

Mithridates dreame.

Digitized by Google

must needes fight to defend their campe. Thereuppon, his Captaines straight beganne to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. Pompey understanding they prepared to make defence, was in dout to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compasse them in to keepe them from flying, and then in the morning to set upon them more easily, his men being the better souldiers. But Pompeys olde Captaines were so earnestly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, that in the ende he was contented they should geve charge. Now it was not so darke but they could somewhat see, for the moone that was very low and uppon her setting, gave light enough to discerne the body of a man: yet bicause the moone was very low, the shadow which gave out further farre then their bodies, came almost even to their very enemies, which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their dartes at the Romanes, but they hurte never a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The Romanes perceiving that, ran apon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so affrayed, but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, so that they were slaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thowsand of the barbarous people slaine and more, and their campe also taken. As for Mithridates him selfe, at the beginning of thonset, he made a lane among the Romanes with eight hundred horsemen, and passed cleane through them. But incontinently his men dispersed apon it, some one way, some an other way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, whereof Hypsicratea was one of the number, which had ever bene valliant and had a mans hart: whereuppon, for that cause Mithridates called her Hypsicrates. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of Persia, and mounted also on a horse after the Persian maner, was never weary with any long jorney the king made, nor never left to waite upon his person, and to looke to his horse: untill such time as the king came to a strong castell called Inora, where was great store of gold and silver, and the kinges chiefest treasure.

POMPEY

Pompey overthrew Mithridates.

Hypsicratea, Mithridates concubine, otherwise called Hypsicrates, for her valliantnes like a man.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

Then Mithridates tooke of his richest apparell he had there, and gave it amongest them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poyson besides to every one of his frendes to carie about them, bicause they should not (unlesse they would them selves) fall into their enemies handes alive. From thence he thought to take his jorney into Armenia, unto king Tigranes. Howbeit Tigranes sent to let him, and further proclaimed by trompet, that he would geve a hundred talentes to him that could kill him. Thereuppon, passing by the head of the river of Euphrates, he fled through the contry of Cholchide. In the meane time, Pompey invaded the contry of Armenia, at the request of Tigranes the younger, who was revolted against his father, and went to meete with Pompey at the river of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on further into the contrie, receivinge such townes as yeelded unto them. But king Tigranes (that not long before had bene consumed and destroyed by Lucullus) understanding that Pompey was of a mylde and gentle nature, he received his garrisons into his strongest fortes and royall houses, and went him selfe with his frendes and kinsemen to meete Pompey, and to yeeld him selfe unto him. When he came hard to his campe, being a horse backe, there came out two sergeauntes of Pompeys, and commaunded him to light and go in a foote, for there was never man seene a horse backe within the Romanes campe. Tigranes did not only obey them, but further plucked of his sword and gave it them: and in fine, when he came almost to Pompey, taking of his royall hatte from his head, he would have layed it at Pompeys feete, and falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased him selfe to imbrase Pompeys knees. But Pompey him selfe prevented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to sit downe by him on the one side of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he sayd unto them both: as for the other losses you have susteined heretofore, you must thanke Lucullus for them, who hath taken from you, Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophena: but for that you have left

Araxes fl.

Tigranes yeldeth him selfe unto Pompey.

Tigranes laied his diadeame at Pompeys feete.

Digitized by Google

you till my comming, I will let you enjoy it, paying to the Romanes a fine of sixe thowsand talentes for the injurie you had done them, provided also, that your sonne have the kingdome of Sophena for his parte. Tigranes accepted the condicions of peace. The Romanes then saluted him king. He was so glad thereof that he promised to geve every souldier halfe a Mina, every Centener tenne Minas, and to every Colonell of a thowsand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall: insomuch as Pompey sending for him to come to supper to him, he aunswered againe, that was not the frendshippe he looked for at Pompeys handes, for he should finde many other Romanes that would offer him that curtesie. Pompey for his aunswere, clapped him up as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumphe at Rome. Shortly after, Phraates king of Parthia sent Ambassadors to Pompey to demaunde this young Prince, that was his sonne in law: and to tell him that the river of Euphrates must be the uttermost confines of his conquestes. Pompey aunswered againe, that Tigranes had more right to his sonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would doe it with justice. So, leaving Afranius in Armenia to keepe the contrie, Pompey passed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucasus, having Mithridates in chace: of which nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the Albanians and Iberians. The Iberians do stretch out unto mount Moschium, and to the realme of Pontus. The Albanians lye towards the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered Pompey to passe through their contrie, apon his sending to them. But winter having stolen apon the Romanes while they were there, and they busily occupied about Saturnes feasts: the barbarous people having leavied above forty thowsand fighting men in one campe together, came and passed over the river of Cyrnus. (This river commeth from the mountaines of the Iberians, and receiving the river of Araxes into it, which passeth through Armenia, disperseth it selfe into twelve severall mouthes, and so falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding holde opinion, that Cyrnus receiveth not the river of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it selfe, and falleth into the same

Tigranes sonne a prisoner.

Ambassadors sent from the king of Parthia unto Pompey.

Caucasus mons.

Albani, and Iberes: what maner of people.

Cyrnus fl.

Digitized by Google

sea, nere unto the mouthes of the other.) Pompey might if he had would have kept them from comming over the river, yet did he suffer them quietly to passe over. When they were all over, he went against them, overcame them in battell, and slue a great number of them in the field. Afterwardes he pardoned their kinge, submittinge him selfe unto Pompey by his Ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went against the Iberians: who were no lesse in number, then the Albanians were at the first, and also better souldiers, and were resolutely bent to doe good service unto Mithridates, and to drive out Pompey. These Iberians were never subject to the Empire of the Persians, nor of the Medes, and scaped also from being subject to the Macedonians, for that Alexander never stayed in the contry of Hyrcania: whom also Pompey overcame in a great and bloodie battell, having slaine nine thowsand in the field, and taken tenne thowsand prisoners. From thence he went into the contry of Colchida. There Servilius met him by the river of Phasis, with the fleete of shippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to followe Mithridates further, who had hidde him selfe amongest a people that were neighbours unto the straightes of Bosphorus, and the marisses Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newes that the Albanians were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be revenged of them. Thereuppon he passed againe over the river of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, bicause the barbarous people had made a strong defence a great way alongest the river side, with a marvelous number of great trees, feld and layed a crosse one over an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed thorow them, he fell into an evill favored contry, where he should travell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereuppon he caused ten thowsand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and so went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the river of Abas, being sixe score thowsande footemen, and twelve thowsande horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wilde beastes skinnes. Their Chiefetaine was Cosis, the kinges owne brother. He, when the battell was begonne, flew

Pompey overthrew the Albanians.

Pompey overcame the Iberians.

Phasis fl.

The Albanians rebell against Pompey.

Abas fl.

Digitized by Google

apon Pompey, and threwe a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. Pompey on thother side, ranne him through with his launce on both sides, and slue him starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine Amazones at this battel, which fought of the barbarous peoples side, comming from the mountaines that runne alongest the river of Thermodon. For, after the overthrow geven, the Romanes spoyling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the Amazones, but not a body of a woman among them. They also doe inhabite on the side of the mountaine Caucasus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border upon the Albanians: but the Gele, and the Leleges are betwene them, with whom they company two monethes only every yeare meeting together, by the river of Thermodon, and all the rest of the yeare, they live a parte by them selves. After this last battell, Pompey going to invade the contrie of Hyrcania, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous serpents which he met with, being come within three dayes jorney of it. So he returned backe againe into Armenia the lesse, and there received presentes which were sent unto him from the kings of the Elymians and the Medes, and wrote very curteously unto them againe: howbeit he sent Afranius with parte of his armie against the king of the Parthians, who had invaded the contry of Gordiena, and harried and spoiled the king of Tigranes subjects. Notwithstanding, he drave him out, and followed him unto Arbelitide. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of king Mithridates being brought unto Pompey, he would touche none of them, but sent them all home againe, to their parents and frendes, bicause the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noble men, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, Stratonice that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about Mithridates, unto whom he had left all the charge of his castel, where the greatest parte of his treasure of gold and silver lay, was a singers daughter, who as they sayd, was not riche, but an old man. She having song one night before Mithridates, being at supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needes have her lye

POMPEY

Pompey slue Cosis, the kinges brother of the Albanians.

The Amazones.

Gele and Leleges, people that do company with the Amazones.

Thermodon fl.

Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.

Digitized by Google

with him the same night, and the old man her father went home offended, bicause the king would not so much as geve him one gentle word. But the next morning when he rose, he marveled to see the tables in his house full of plate of gold and silver, and a great company of serving men, groomes of chamber and pages, and that they had brought him marvelous riche apparell, and a horse ready at the gates bravely furnished, as the kings familiars did use when they went abroade into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to have made sporte with him, and therefore would have runne his way, had not the serving men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a litle porcion in respect of the other goods and lands he gave him. So the old man beleving them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got up a horse backe, and riding through the streetes, cried, All this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: Masters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so madde for joy. Such was Stratonices birth and parentage, as we have told you. She did then deliver this castell into Pompeys hands, and offered him many goodly riche presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as served to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beawtifie his triumphe, and left all the rest with Stratonice her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the Iberians, having sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chayer of cleane golde, praying him to take it as a remembraunce from him: he delivered it over unto the Treasorers custody, to be accountable for it unto the state. In an other castell called Cœnon, he founde certaine secret letters sent from Mithridates, which pleased him marvelously to reade, bicause thereby he plainly understoode the kinges nature and inclination. For in them were mencioned that he had poysoned (besides many other) Ariarathes his owne sonne, and Alcæus the Sardianian, bicause he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpretinge of

Pompeys abstinence from taking of gifts.

Mithridates remembraunces.

Digitized by Google

dreames, that either him selfe or his wives had dreamed, and also love letters betwext Monime and him. Theophanes wryteth also, that there was found an oration of Rutilius, in the which he intised and perswaded Mithridates to put all the Romanes to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously devised by Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, bicause he was but a counterfeate to him: or peradventure to gratifie Pompey, whose father Rutilius in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Thence Pompey departed towardes the city of Amisus. There his ambition brought him to commit such factes, as he him selfe did condemne before in Lucullus: for that his enemy being yet alive, he tooke upon him to establish lawes, to geve giftes, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he him selfe (Mithridates being yet the stronger in the realme of Bosphorus, and having a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reproved an other for, appointing provinces, and geving out giftes to every man according as he deserved: to gratifie twelve barbarous kinges, with divers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Wryting also to the king of Parthia, he disdained to geve him that title, which others were wont to doe in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kinges. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne Syria, and to goe through the contry of Arabia, even unto the redde sea, bicause he might enlarge his conquestes and victories every way, even unto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth. For in Libya, he was the first Romane that conquered all to the great sea. On thother side, in Spayne he enlarged thEmpire of Rome, and brought the confines thereof unto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, having lately the Albanians in chase, he came almost unto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put him selfe in jorney, intending his circuite unto the redde sea, specially bicause he sawe Mithridates so ill to follow, and worse to overcome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would

Rutilius, an historiographer.

Pompeis fault.

Pompeys jorney into Syria.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

leave a sharper enemy behinde him, then him selfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed souldiers with sufficient number of shippes, to lye in waite for the marchauntes that sailed to the contrie of Bosphorus, to cary them any vittells or other marchaundises, prohibiting them upon paine of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best parte of his army, and in his way, founde the bodies of dead Romanes which Mithridates had overthrowen under the leading of Triarius their Captaine, and were yet unburied. So he caused them all to be taken up, and honorably buried. Lucullus having forgotten, or otherwise neglected to doe it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. Pompey now having by Afranius subdued the Arabians, dwelling about mount Amanus, went him selfe in person into Syria, and made a government and province of it, being won to the Romane Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: and conquered all Iurie also, where he tooke king Aristobulus, and builded certaine cities there, and delivered others also from bondage, which by tyrannes were forcibly kept, whom he chasticed well enough. Howbeit he spent the most parte of his time there, deciding of controversies, pacifying of contencions and quarrells by arbitrement, which fell out betwext the free cities, Princes and kinges, and sent of his frends into those places where he could not come him selfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betwext the Parthians and the Armenians, touching the title of a contrie which both parties claimed: he sent three commissioners thither to judge definitively betwext them both. If Pompeys fame and renowne were great, no lesse was his vertue, justice, and liberality, which in deede did hide many faultes, his frendes and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punishe them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did use them so well that complained unto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, paciently to beare their covetousnes and straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loved best, was called Demetrius, a

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and government of a province.

Pompeys vertues.

Digitized by Google

bondman infranchised, who otherwise was very discrete in his doings, but being somewhat too bolde of his good fortune: of him they make this mencion. Cato the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good judgement and of a noble minde, in Pompeys absence went to see the city of Antioch. Now for him selfe, his maner was alwayes to goe a foote, and all his frendes besides that did accompany him to honor him, were a horsebacke. He perceiving a farre of, a great sorte of people comming towardes him all in white, and of one side of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his sake to honor him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would have had done. Thereuppon he commaunded his frendes to light from their horses, and to goe a foote with him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, having a garland on his head, and a rodde in his hand, came unto them, and asked them: where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come? Catoes frendes laughed to heare this question: then sayd Cato, Alas poore city, and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, Pompey him selfe was cause that Demetrius had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should have had: bicause they sawe howe boldly he would use Pompey, and howe well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when Pompey oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or supper, while he was entertaining or welcomming of them, and would tary till they were all come: Demetrius would be set at the bord, and presumptuously have his head covered even to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into Italie out of this jorney, he had already purchaced the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about Rome, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called Demetrius gardens: though his master Pompey was but meanly housed till his third Consullshippe. Howbeit afterwardes, he built that famous stately Theater, called Pompeys Theater, and joyned unto that also an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farre more sumptuous and stately

The power and insolency of Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Catoes exclamation against Demetrius, Pompeys infranchised bondman.

Pompeys Theatre.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

then the first, and yet no more then needed. Insomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marveled, and asked where abouts it was, that Pompey dyned and supped. These thinges are reported thus. Now, the king of the Arabians, that dwelt about the castell called Petra, having never untill that time made any accompt of the Romanes army, was then greatly affrayed of them, and wrote unto Pompey, that he was at his devotion, to doe what he would commaunde him. Pompey thereuppon to prove him, whether he ment as he spake: brought his army before this castell of Petra. Howebeit this voyage was not liked of many men, bicause they judged it was an occasion found out to leave following of Mithridates, against whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an auncient enemy to Rome, and that beganne to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they heard say) to lead a great army through Scythia and Pannonia into Italie. But Pompey thinking he should sooner minishe his power by suffering him to goe on with warres, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the castell of Petra, and had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse up and downe the campe, postes came flinging to him from the realme of Pontus, and brought him good newes, as was easily to be discerned a farre of by the heades of their javelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The souldiers perceiving that, flocked straight about him: but Pompey would make an ende of his riding first, before he red these letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand uppon to speake unto them, and againe, the souldiers would not tary the making of one after the manner of their campe, which men of warre doe make them selves, with great turves of earth, laying one of them uppon an other: but for hast and earnest desire they had to heare what newes there

The king of Arabia Petrea, submitted him selfe to Pompey.

Digitized by Google

was in the letters, they layed together a heape of saddells one apon an other, and Pompey getting up of them, tolde howe Mithridates was dead, and had killed him selfe with his owne handes, bicause his sonne Pharnaces did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed: wryting unto him, that he kept it for him selfe and the Romanes. Upon these newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull joy, and did sacrifice to the goddes, geving them thankes, and were as mery, as if in Mithridates person alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. Pompey by this occasion, having brought this warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of Arabia, and having speedily in few dayes passed through the contries lying by the way, he came at length to the city of Amisus. There he founde great presents that were brought unto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the kinges blood, and amongest the rest, Mithridates corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, bicause they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie up the braine: neverthelesse, such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For Pompey would in no wise see him: but to avoide envy, sent him away unto the city of Sinope. He wondred much at the marvelous sumptuous riche apparell and weapons that he ware. The scaberd of his sword (which cost foure hundred talents) was stolen by Publius, and sold to Ariarathes. Also a hatte of Mithridates of wonderfull workemanshippe, being begged of Caius his fosterbrother, was secretly geven to Faustus, the sonne of Sylla, without Pompeys privity. But afterwards when Pharnaces understoode of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. Pompey having ordered all things and established that province, went on his jorney homewards with great pompe and glory. So, comming unto Mitylene, he released the city of all taxes and paymentes for Theophanes sake, and was present at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, having at that time no other matter in hande, but Pompeys actes and jeastes. Pompey liked exceeding well the Theater where these plays were

Mithridates death.

The value of Mithridates scaberd of his sword.

Pompeys returne out of Asia.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a statelyer then that in Rome. As he passed by the city of Rhodes, he would nedes heare all the Rethoritians dispute, and gave every one of them a talent. Posidonius hath written the disputation he made before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rethoritian, upon the theame and proposition Pompey selfe did geve them, touching the generall question. Pompey did the like at Athens unto the Philosophers there. For he gave towards the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into Italie, to have bene very honorably received, and longed to be at home, to see his wife and children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge geven him to mingle fortunes prosperity, with some bitter soppe of adversity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more sorowfull. For Mutia his wife had in his abscence played false at tables. But Pompey being then farre of, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were tolde him. Howebeit, when he drewe neerer into Italie, and that he was more attentive to geve eare to the ill reportes he heard: then he sent unto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, wryting nothing to her at that time, neither ever after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding, in Ciceroes Epistles the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroade in Rome which troubled them sore, being geven out that he would bring his armie straight to Rome, and make him selfe absolute Lord of all the Romane Empire. Crassus thereuppon, either for that he beleved it in deede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the envy towardes Pompey the greater: conveyed him selfe, his family, and goodes, sodainely out of Rome. So Pompey when he came into Italie, called all his souldiers together, and after he had made an oration unto them, as time and occasion required: he commanded them to sever them selves, and every man to repaire home to apply his busines, remembring to mete at Rome together, at the day of his triumphe. His army being thus dispersed, and straight reported abroad for newes: a marvelous thing happened unto him. The

Mutia, the wife of Pompey.

Pompey forsooke his wife Mutia.

Pompey at his returne out of Asia, discharged his souldiers.

Digitized by Google

cities seeing Pompey the great without souldiers, having but a small traine about him of his familliar frendes onely: went all of them to meete him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some jorney taken for his pleasure. Such was the love of the people to him, that they accompanied him to Rome, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into Italie: so that if he had bene disposed to have made any innovation in the common wealth, he had not needed his army. In those dayes there was a law, that no man should enter into Rome before his triumphe: whereupon Pompey sent to the Senate, to pray them to deferre the chosing of Consuls for a few daies, bicause he might be present to further Piso, who sued for the Consulship that yere. They denied him his request, by Catoes meanes that hindred it. Pompey marveling to heare of his boldnes and plaine speech, which he only used of all other to defend his just causes: had a marvelous desire to win him, and to make him his frend. So Cato having two neces, Pompey desired to marry the one him selfe, and the other for his sonne. But Cato mistrusting this desire of Pompeys, that it was a colour only to win and corrupt him: denied him flatly. His wife and sister on thother side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with Pompey the great. About that time it chaunced, that Pompey being very desirous to preferre Afranius to be Consul, he caused certaine money to be geven amongest the tribes of the peoples, and the same was delivered out to some, even in his owne gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, every man spake ill of Pompey: that he put the Consulship to sale for money, unto those that could not deserve it by vertue, sith him selfe only had obtained it by purchase, of many a noble and worthy deede. Then sayd Cato to his wife and sister: Loe now, we had bene partakers of this fault to, had we matched with Pompey. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honor. But now to his triumphe. For the statelines and magnificence therof, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shewe,

Pompeis honorable returne to Rome out of Asia.

A law for triumphe.

Cato refuseth Pompeis alliance.

Pompeis third triumphe.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

that were not seene, which would have served to have set out an other triumphe. First there were tables caried, wheron were written the names and titles of all the people and nacions for the which he triumphed, as these that follow. The kingdom of Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia: and furthermore, the people that dwell about Phœnicia and Palæstina, Iudæa, and Arabia: and all the pirats which he had overcomen both by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. In all these contries, he tooke about a thowsand castels, few lesse then nine hundred townes and cities: of pirats ships eight hundred, and nine and thirtie desolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreover, these tables declared, that the revenue of the common wealth of Rome before these conquests he made, amounted yerely but to five thowsand Miriades: and that from thence forth with the summes he had added unto the former revenue, they should now receive eight thowsand and five hundred Miriades: and that he brought presently in ready gold and silver, and in plate and juells, to put into the common treasory, the value of twenty thowsand talents, besides that which had bene distributed alredy amongst the souldiers: of the which, he that had left for his share, had fifteene hundred Drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumphe, besides the Captaines of the pirats, were these that follow. The sonne of Tigranes king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter: the wife of king Tigranes himselfe, called Zosime: Aristobulus king of Iurie: Mithridates sister with five sonnes of hers, and some Ladies of Scythia. The ostages also of the Iberians and the Albanians, and also of the kings of the Commagenians: over and besides a great number of other markes of triumphes which him selfe or his Lieutenauntes had wonne at sundry battells in divers places. But the greatest honor that ever he wanne, and which never other Consull of the Romanes but him selfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumphe of the three partes of the world. Divers other Romanes had triumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of Africke: the seconde time of Europe: the third time of

The contries conquered by Pompey.

Captives led in Pompeis third triumphe.

Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke. Europe. Asia.

Digitized by Google

Asia. So that it appeared by these three triumphes, that he had triumphed in maner of all the lande that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doinges unto Alexander the great) under foure and thirty yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neere forty. O, happy had it bene for him, if he had dyed when he had Alexanders fortune: for all his life afterwardes, made his prosperitie hatefull, or his adversity miserable. Imploying the honor and authority he had gotten by his valliantnes, favoring mens unjust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honor, and unwares brought his greatnes to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a citie, which receivinge their enemies into them, doe geve them the benefit of their owne strength: even so, through Pompeys power, Cæsar growing to be great, overthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he imployed, to the overthrowe of others. And thus it fortuned. Lucullus at his returne out of Asia (where Pompey had uncurteously used him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when Pompey was also come to Rome. For the Senate did counsell and incorage him to deale in thaffaires of the state, seeing him waxe very slow, and geven too much to his ease and pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. So when Pompey was come, he beganne to speake against him, and through the frendshippe and assistance of Cato, confirmed all his doinges in Asia, which Pompey had broken and rejected. Pompey finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driven to have recourse unto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in frendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent and vilest person was Clodius: who received him, and made him a praye unto the people. For he had Pompey ever at his elbow, and against his honor caried him up and downe the market place after him, to speake as occasion served to confirme any matter or devise which he preferred unto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his goodwill, he craved of Pompey (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he would forsake Cicero, who was his frend, and had done

Pompey triumphed thrise before the age of forty yeres.

The chaunge of Pompeys fortune and honor.

Lucullus beloved of the Senate at his returne out of Asia.

Lucullus inveyed against Pompey, by Catoes assistance.

Pompey joyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Digitized by Google

Pompey forsaketh his frend Cicero.

much for him in matters of common wealth. Pompey graunted his request. Thereupon Cicero being brought in daunger of law, and requiring Pompeys frendship to helpe him, he shut his dore against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out him selfe at an other backe dore. Cicero thereuppon fearing thextreamity of law, willingly forsooke Rome. At that time, Iulius Cæsar returning home from his Prætorshippe out of Spayne, beganne to lay such a platte, that presently brought him into great favor, and afterwardes much increased his power, but otherwise utterly undid Pompey and the common wealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consullshippe, and considering the enmitie betwext Pompey and Crassus, if he joyned with the one, he made thother his enemie: he devised to make them frendes, a thing seeming of great honestie at the first sight, but yet a pestilent devise, and as subtill a practise as could be. For the power of the city being before devided into two partes, (as a shippe evenly ballest of eche side) and maintained the common wealth upright: being now brought into one mans power, there was no possibility to withstand it, so that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereuppon, Cato wisely told them afterwardes, that sayd the civill warres betwext Pompey and Cæsar was cause of the destruction of the common wealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chiefe originall cause of this misery, but rather their frendshippe and agreement. For by their frendshippe, Cæsar was chosen Consull, who straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for restoring of the colonies belonging to Rome, and for distributing of lands to them that had none, imbasing the majesty and dignity of the chiefe Magistrate, and making the Consullshippe in maner no better then the Tribuneship of the people. Bibulus his colleague and fellowe Consull, did what he could to resist him, and Cato also did aide him to his power: untill Cæsar openly brought Pompey into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if he did geve his consent to the decrees which he did set forth. Pompey aunswered him, he did. Why then, sayd Cæsar, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voyces

Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus.

Cæsars law for deviding of landes, *Lex Agraria.*

Digitized by Google

of the people: wilt thou not then come to help them? Yes that I will in deede, sayd Pompey. Against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. Pompey in all his life never did nor spake thinge that men more misliked, then that which he sayd at that time. His frendes excused him, and sayd it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deedes afterwardes shewed, that he was altogether at Cæsars commaundement. For not many dayes after, he maried Iulia the daughter of Cæsar, which was affianced, or made sure before, unto Servilius Cæpio when no man thought of it: and to pacifie Cæpioes anger, he gave him his owne daughter in mariage, whome he had also promised before unto Faustus the sonne of Sylla: and Cæsar also maried Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso. After this, Pompey filling all Rome with souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consull Bibulus came into the market place accompanied with Lucullus and Cato, they sodainly set upon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him: and some one, whatsoever he was, cast a basket of horse dong apon his head. Moreover, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very sore hurt. By this meanes, having cleered the market place of all their enemies, they passed the law for division of lands, as they would them selves. The people being fleshed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would never sticke at any matter that they would have passed. So were all Pompeys matters confirmed, which Lucullus was against: and they appointed unto Cæsar also, the government of the Gaules on this side and beyond the Alpes: and Illyria for five yeres space, with foure whole legions. The next yeare following were appointed Consulls, Piso Cæsars father in law, and Gabinius the greatest flatterer Pompey had about him. But now while things stoode in these tearmes, Bibulus though he were Consull, kept him selfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and only sent out billes, and set them up on every post in open places, accusing Pompey and Cæsar. Cato on thother side, as if he had bene inspired with the spirite of prophecie, tolde openly in the Senate house, what

Pompey gave his consent with Cæsar, for passing his law Agraria.

Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæsar.

Bibulus the Consull driven out of the market place, by Pompey.

The law Agraria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and Illyria appointed unto Cæsar.

Piso, and Gabinius, Consulls.

Digitized by Google

Cato foresheweth the ruine of the common wealth, and of Pompey.

would become of the common wealth and Pompey. Lucullus growing old, lay still and tooke his pleasure, and would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that Pompey sayd: it was more unseasonable for an old man to followe his pleasure, then to attend matters of the common wealth. Yet him selfe shortly after was so doted of his young wife, that he would follow her up and downe in the contry, and in his gardens, and leave all affaires of waight aside. Whereupon Clodius being then Tribune of the people, despised Pompey, and beganne to enter into seditious attemptes. For when he had driven Cicero out of Rome, and had sent away Cato to make warres in Cyprus, and that Cæsar also was occupied in Gaule, and finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, bicause to flatter them he did what they would have him: he attempted incontinently to undo some things that Pompey had established. Amongest other things, he tooke Tigranes out of prison, and ever caried him up and downe with him wheresoever he went, and continually pict quarrells unto Pompeys frends, to trye what credit he had. In the end Pompey comming abroad one day into the common assembly, to here how a matter of his was handled: this Clodius having a company of vacabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seene from the rest, beganne to aske these questions out alowde: Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that seekes for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunsers or singers, when he spake and clapped his handes on his gowne, aunswered him straight alowde to every question, that it was Pompey. This went to Pompeys harte, that was not wont to heare him selfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of sight: but yet it made him byte the lippe more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproved, as a just revenge and punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of Cicero. So, great sturre and uprore being made upon this in the market place, and many men sore hurt, and one of Clodius bondmen being

Clodius the Tribune, setteth uppon Pompey.

Pompey was grievously scorned of Clodius.

Digitized by Google

taken also in the prease of the people with a sword in his hand, very neere unto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing Clodius insolency and prowde words) he would never after come into the market place, as long as Clodius was Tribune, but kept at home still, consulting with his frendes what way he should take, to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereuppon, one of his frendes called Culeo, perswaded him to put away his wife Iulia, and utterly to refuse Cæsars frendshippe, and to sticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken unto them that gave him counsell to call Cicero home againe, who was Clodius mortall enemie, and in great favor with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought Ciceroes brother into the market place, to move the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and divers were slaine of either side: notwithstanding, he overcame Clodius. Thus Cicero being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey againe in favor with the Senate, and standing with the lawe propounded to geve Pompey authoritie to cause corne to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him have power both by land and sea over all the territories of the Romanes. For all the havens, martes and fayres, and all store houses for corne, yea moreover all the trade of marchandise and tillage, came under Pompeys hands. Then Clodius accusing him, sayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of vittells, but that they made a dearth of vittells, bicause the lawe should passe, to revive Pompeys power and authority againe, that was almost under foote. Other say, that this was a devise of Lentulus Spinther the Consull, who gave Pompey the greater authoritie, bicause he might be sent to put king Ptolomy againe into his kingdom. This notwithstanding, Canidius the Tribune preferred an other law to send Pompey without an army, with two sergeaunts only to cary the axes before him, to bring Ptolomy in favor againe with the Alexandrians. This law seemed not to mislike Pompey: but the Senate with honest colour put by this lawe, as being affrayed least Pompeys

Commission geven to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.

The restoring againe of Ptolomy king of Ægypt to his realme.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

person should miscary in so doing. Neverthelesse, litle papers were found throwen about the market place, and the Senate house, declaringe that Ptolomy desired Pompey might come to aide him in Spinthres stead. Timagenes wryteth notwithstanding, that Ptolomy went unto Rome, and left Ægypt without any occasion geven him, at the perswasion of Theophanes, who perswaded him to doe so, bicause he would geve Pompey occasion to make newe warres. But Theophanes craft and suttilty made not this matter so credible, as Pompeys wit and good nature made it altogether untrue: for his ambition was nothing so vile nor ill, as that was. So, Pompey having now full authority to cause corne to be brought to Rome, he sent then his Lieutenauntes and frendes abroade, and him selfe in person went into Sicile. Nowe being ready to returne againe, there rose such a storme of winde in the sea, that the mariners were in dout to way their anckers. But him selfe first imbarked, and commaunded them straight to hoyse sayle, crying out alowde, It is of necessitie I must goe, but not to live. So, through his boldnes and good spirite, using the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the sea besides with shippes: insomuch, the plenty he brought did not only furnishe the city of Rome, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively spring that dispersed it selfe through all Italie. About that time, the great conquestes that Cæsar made in Gaule, did set him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from Rome, with the Belgeans, Swisses, and Englishmen: he by secret practise, was in the middest among the people at Rome, and most against Pompey in the waightiest affayres of the common wealth. For he had the power of an armie about his person, which he did harden with paines and continuall practise, not with intent to fight onely against the barbarous people: for the battells he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting sporte, by the which he made him selfe invincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold and silver, and the incredible spoiles and treasure which he wan apon the enemies whom he had overcome: and by sending great

Digitized by Google

presentes also to Rome, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Consulls, and their wives, he purchased him many frendes. Therefore, after he had passed over the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of Luca: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate them selves almost two hundred persons (and amongest them, Crassus and Pompey by name) went out of Rome unto him. Furthermore, there were seene at Cæsars gate, sixe score sergeauntes carying axes before Prætors, or Proconsulls. So Cæsar sent every one backe againe, either full of money, or good wordes: but with Pompey and Crassus, he made a matche, that they two together should sue to be Consulls, and that he him selfe would send them good aide to Rome, at the daye of election to geve their voyces. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to have the governmentes of some newe provinces and armies assigned them: and withall, that they should adjorne the government of those provinces he had, for five yeares more. This packe being bewrayed and spred abroad through Rome, the honestest sorte misliked much thereof. Wherupon Marcellinus at an open assembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would sue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being urged by the people to make aunswere, Pompey spake first, and said: peradventure he would, peradventure not. Crassus aunswered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the common wealth. Then Marcellinus sharpely inveying against Pompey, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth, and said, that Marcellinus was the ranckest churle, and the unthankefullest beast in the world: for that of a dumme man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner starved and famished, many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithstanding, divers that before were determined to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, saving Lucius Domitius, whom Cato counselled and incoraged not to geve it over: for, said he, thou doest not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the common libertie of thy contry against two tyrannes. Pompey therefore fearing Catoes faction, least that having all the Senates good willes, he should drawe also the best parte of

Great repaire unto Cæsar, wintring at Luca.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

The violence of Pompey obtayning the second Consulship.

Pompey and Crassus second Consulships.

Provinces devided unto Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.

the people after him: thought it not good to suffer Domitius to come into the market place. To this ende therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset, slue the torche bearer that caryed the torche before him, and made all the rest flie: amongest whom also Cato was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of Domitius. Pompey and Crassus being become Consuls after this sorte, they ordered them selves nothing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to choose Cato Prætor, Pompey being at thassembly of the election, perceyving that they would choose him, brake up the assembly, falsely alleaging that he had noted certaine ill signes, and afterwardes, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose Antias and Vatinius Prætors. After that, by Trebonius tribune of the people, they published edicts, authorising Cæsars charge for five yeares lenger, according to the appointment they had made with Cæsar. Unto Crassus also they had appointed Syria, and the warre against the Parthians. Unto Pompey in like case, all Africke, and both Spaynes, with foure Legions besides: of the which, at Cæsars desire, he lent him two legions to help him in his warre in Gaule. These thinges done, Crassus departed to his Province, at the going out of his Consulship: and Pompey remayned at Rome about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musicke, and caused wilde beastes also to be baited and hunted, and killed a five hundred lions. But of all thinges, there was no such fearefull sight and terrible fight, as was betwene the elephantes. This great charge and bowntifull expence, defrayed by Pompey, to shew the people pastime and pleasure: made him againe to be very much esteemed of, and beloved amongest the people. But on thother side, he wanne him selfe as much ill will and envy, in committing the government of his Provinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whilest he him selfe romed up and downe the pleasaunt places of Italy, with his wife at his pleasure: either by cause he was farre in love with her, or els for that she loved him so dearely, that he

Digitized by Google

could not finde in his harte to leave her companie. It was reported of her, (being knowen of many) that this young lady Iulia loved her housband more dearely, not for Pompeys florishing age, but for his assured continencie, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no solemne man, but pleasaunt of conversation, which made women love him marvelously, unles we will reprove the curtisan Floraes false testimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men rising sodainely in hurly burly, drew their swordes, and many were slaine about Pompey: insomuch as his clothes being bloudyed, he sent his men home in haste to fetche him other to chaunge him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloudie, tooke such a flight upon it, that she fell downe in a sownde before them, and they had much a doe to recover her, and yet she fell straight in labor apon it, and was delivered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good will he bare unto Cæsar: could not reprove the love he bare unto his wife. An other time after that, she was great with child againe, whereof she died, and the childe lived not many dayes after the mother. As Pompey was about to carie her into the contrie to be buried, to a house he had there neere unto the citie of Alba: the people by force tooke her corse, and caried it into the field of Mars, more for the pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either Cæsar or Pompey: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for Cæsars sake being absent, then for Pompey that was present. But straight when this alliance was broken, which rather covered, then bridled their ambitious desire to rule: there rose a new sturre in Rome immediatly, and every mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and seditious wordes. Not longe after that also came newes, that Crassus was overthrowen, and slaine in Parthia: who was a manifest staye and let to kepe them two from civill warres, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept them selves in a reasonable sorte together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could have withstood the better of them both that had overcome the other: then might have bene said of these two which remained, as the comycall Poet said:

The death of Iulia, the daughter of Cæsar.

The beginning of the dissention betwext Pompey and Cæsar.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

See how these Champions purposing eche others force to trie,
With nointed skin and dusty hands stand vaunting valliantly.

So litle can fortune prevaile against nature, having no power to stoppe covetousnes: sith so large and great an Empire, and such a wide contrie besides, could not containe the covetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

Among the gods them selves all things by lot divided are,
And none of them intrudes him selfe within his neighbours share,

yet they thought not that the Empire of Rome was enough for them, which were but two. But Pompey spake openly in an oration he made unto the people, that he ever came to office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would have done: and that he witnessed by discharging his armie so soone. Then thinking that Cæsar would not discharge his armie, he sought to make him selfe strong against him, by procuring offices of the citie, without any other alteracion. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainely shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, bicause the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was none either to commaund, or that the people should obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute straight, that there must nedes be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was Lucilius tribune of the people, who perswaded them to choose Pompey. But Cato stucke so stowtely against it, that the Tribune had like to have lost his office, even in the market place. But then many of Pompeys frendes stepped up, and excused him, saying: that he neither sought, nor would have the Dictatorship. Then Cato commended him much, and praying him to see good order kept in the common wealth: Pompey being ashamed to denie so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, Domitius, and Messala: but afterwardes when the state beganne to chaunge againe, by the death of one of the Consuls, and that divers were more earnestly bent to

Digitized by Google

have a Dictator than before, Cato fearing it would breake out with furie, determined to geve Pompey some office of reasonable authoritie, to kepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Insomuch, Bibulus him selfe being chiefe of the Senate, and Pompeys ennemie, was the first that moved, Pompey might be chosen Consul alone: for, said he, by this meanes, either the common wealth shalbe ridde of the present trouble, or els it shalbe in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was marvelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, Cato standing up, it was thought straight he would have spoken against him. But silence being made him, he plainely tolde them, that for his owne parte he would not have bene the first man to have propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, said he, it is better to have an officer to commaund, whatsoever he be, rather then none: and that he saw no man fitter to commaund, then Pompey, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that Pompey should be chosen sole Consul: and that if he sawe in his discretion he should neede the assistance of an other companion, he might name any whome he thought good, but not till two monethes were past. Thus was Pompey made Consul alone by Sulpitius, regent for that daie. Then Pompey made very frendly countenance unto Cato, and thanked him for the honor he had done him, praying him privately to assist him with his counsell in the Consulshippe. Cato aunswered him, that there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the common wealth only: and for his counsell, if he would aske it, he should privately have it, if not, yet that he would openly saie that which he thought. Such a man was Cato in all his doinges. Now Pompey retorning into the citie, maried Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, not a maiden, but late the widow of Publius Crassus the sonne, that was slaine in Parthia, to whom she was maried a maiden. This Ladie had excellent giftes to be beloved besides her beautie. For she was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in musicke and geometrie, and tooke

Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.

Cato spake in Pompeys favor.

Pompey chosen Consull.

Pompey maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio.

The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY great pleasure also in philosophie, and not vainely without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behaviour, without brawling and foolish curiositie, which commonly young women have, that are indued with such singular giftes. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithstanding, these unlike mariages did nothing please some: for Cornelia was young enough to have bene his sonnes wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the common wealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedie to redresse the same: and that he in the meane time gave him selfe over to marying and feasting, where rather he should have bene carefull of his Consulshippe, which was disposed apon him against the lawe, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he sharpely proceeded against them, which by briberie and unlaufull meanes came to office: and having made lawes and ordinaunces for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he delt justly and uprightly in all thinges, geving safetie, order, silence and gravitie, to matters of Iudgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present: saving that when his father in lawe was also accused among other, he sent for the three hundred and three score Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw Scipio accompanied by the Iudges them selves, retorning into the market place: he let fall his sute. This made Pompey againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he having made a lawe, that no man should praise the offendors, whilest their matter was a hearing: came him selfe and openly praised Plancus being accused. Thereupon Cato being one of the Iudges, stopped his eares with both his handes, saying: that he might not heare an offendor praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refused for a Iudge, before they gave sentence. Notwithstanding, Plancus was condemned by all the rest of the Iudges, to Pompeys great shame and reproache. Shortly after, Hypseus, one that had bene Consul, being likewise accused, watching Pompey on a time as he came out of his bathe to goe to supper: upon his

Digitized by Google

knees he besought Pompeys favor and helpe. But he stately passed by him, and gave him no other aunswere, but told him, he marred his supper, and said nothing els to him. This inconstancy was much reproved in Pompey. Howbeit otherwise he set all thinges in good order, and chose his father in lawe Scipio, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulshippe, for the five last monethes. After that, he caused the government of his provinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commission to take yearely out of the treasure a thowsand talentes to defraye the charges of this warre. Cæsars frend seeing that, stepped up for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideracion of him, that had likewise great warres for the Empire of Rome: saying, that his good service deserved, either that they should make him Consul againe, or els that they should prolonge his charge and government, so as he might yet peacibly enjoye the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to thend that no other successor might reape the frute of his labor. Much sturre and contention being about this matter at Rome, Pompey as though for goodwill he ment to excuse the envie they might have borne Cæsar, said: that he had receyved lettres from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should graunt him priviledge to demaund the second Consulshippe, although he were absent. Which Cato stowtely withstoode, saying, that he must retorne home as a priuate man, and leaving his armie, should come in person to crave recompence of his contrie. But bycause Pompey made no replie nor aunswere to the contrarie, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of Cæsar, and the rather, bycause he had sent unto him for the two legions which he had lent him, under culler of his warre against the Parthians. But Cæsar though he smelt him wherefore he sent for his souldiers, retorned them home with liberall reward. About that time, Pompey fell sicke at Naples of a daungerous disease, whereof notwithstanding he recovered againe. The Neapolitans thereupon, by perswasion of Praxagoras, one of the chiefest men of their citie: did sacrifice to the

Pompeys provinces assigned him foure yeares further.

Pompey fell sicke at Naples.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

goddes for his recoverie. The like did also their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne so generally through all Italy, that there was no citie or towne (great or small) but made open feast and rejoycing for many dayes together. Besides, the infinite nomber of people was such, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high wayes, cities, townes and ports of the sea, were all full of people, feasting and sacrificing to the gods, rejoycing for his recoverie. Divers also went to meete him, crowned with garlandes, and so did attend on him, casting nosegayes and flowers apon him. Thus was his Iorney the noblest sight that ever was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought also, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the civil warres. For he fell into such a pride, and glorious conceit of him selfe, with the exceeding joye he tooke to see him selfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly government, which made all his former doings to prosper, he grew to bolde in despising of Cæsars power, as though he stoode in no neede of other power or care to withstand him, but that he could overcome him as he would, farre more easely, then he could have done before. Furthermore, Appius thereupon retorned from Gaule, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent unto Cæsar, reproaching much his doinges which he had done there, and geving out many fowle words against Cæsar. For he said, that Pompey knew not his owne strength and authoritie, that would seeke to make him selfe stronge, by other power against him: considering that he might overcome him with his owne legions he should bring with him, so soone as they sawe but Pompey in the face, such ill will did Cæsars owne souldiers beare him, and were marvelous desirous besides to see him selfe. These flattering tales so puffed up Pompey, and brought him into such a securitie and trust of him selfe, that he mocked them to scorne which were affrayed of warres. And to those also which said, that if Cæsar came to Rome, they saw not how they could resist his power: he smilingly aunswered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: For as ofte, said he, as I doe but stampe my foote apon the ground of

Great rejoycing for the recovery of Pompeis helth.

Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey despise Cæsar.

Appius soothed Pompey, and fed his humor.

Pompeys proud wordes.

Digitized by Google

Italy, I shal bring men enough out of every corner, both footemen and horsemen. In the meane time, Cæsar gathered force still unto him, and thenceforth drew neerer unto Italy, and sent of his souldiers daily to Rome to be present at the election of the magistrates, and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongest whom, was Paule, one of the Consuls, whom he wanne of his side, by meanes of a thowsand five hundred talents. And Curio the Tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought: and Marke Antony also, who for Curioes sake, was discharged likewise for parte of the debt which Curio ought, being also bound as him selfe. Furthermore, it was found that a captaine or Centurion sent from Cæsar, being neere unto the Senate, understanding that the counsell would not prolong Cæsars government which he required, clapping his hand upon the pummell of his sword: Well said he, this shall geve it him. So, to be shorte, all that was done and said, tended to this end. Notwithstanding, the peticions and requestes that Curio made in Cæsars behalfe, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people: for he requested one of the two, either to make Pompey to put downe his armie, or els to licence Cæsar to have his armie aswell as he. For, either being both made private men, they would fall to agreement of them selves: or els being both of like strength, neither of both would seeke any alteration, fearing one an other, but would content them selves either of them with their owne. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other: should double his power whom he feared. Thereto very whotly replyed the Consul Marcellus, calling Cæsar, theefe, and said that he should be proclaimed an open enemie to Rome, if he did not desperse his armie. This notwithstanding, in fine Curio, Antony, and Piso, procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, said he, all those that would have Cæsar leave his army, and Pompey to keepe his: let them stand on thone side. Thereupon the most parte of them stoode at one side. Then he bad them againe come away from them, that would have them both leave their armies. Then there remained only but two and twentie that stoode for Pompey: and all the

Paule the Consul bribed by Cæsar.

Curio and Antonius, Tribunes of the people, bribed by Cæsar.

Digitized by Google

rest went of Curioes side. Then Curio looking aloft for joy of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was received of his Tribune faction with showtes of joy and clapping of handes, and infinite nosegayes and garlandes of flowers throwen uppon him. Pompey was not then present to see the Senators good will towardes him: bicause by the law, such as have commaundement over souldiers, can not enter into Rome. Notwithstanding, Marcellus standing up, sayd: that he would not stande trifling hearing of orations and argumentes, when he knew that tenne legions were already passed over the Alpes, intending to come in armes against them: and that he would send a man unto them, that should defende their contrie well enough. Straight they chaunged apparell at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamitie. Marcellus then comminge through the market place unto Pompey, beinge followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: Pompey, I commaund thee to helpe thy contry with that army thou hast already and also to leavy more to aide thee. The like speeche did Lentulus use unto him, who was appointed one of the Consulls the yeare following. Now, when Pompey thought to leavy souldiers in Rome and to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went unwillingly to him with heavie hartes, and the most of them cried, Peace, peace. Antony also, against the Senates minde, red a letter unto the people sent from Cæsar containing certaine offers and reasonable requestes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his request was, that Pompey and he should both of them resigne their governments, and should dismisse their armies to make all well, referring them selves wholly to the judgement of the people, and to deliver up accompt unto them of their doinges. Lentulus being nowe entred into his Consulshippe, did not assemble the Senate. But Cicero lately returned out of Cilicia, practised to bring them to agreement, propounding that Cæsar should leave Gaule, and all the rest of his armie, reserving onely two legions and the government of Illyria, attending his seconde Consulshippe. Pompey liked not this motion. Then Cæsars frendes were contented to graunt that he should

Pompey chosen to goe against Cæsar.

Ciceromoveth reconciliation betwext Cæsar and Pompey.

Digitized by Google

have but one of his legions. But Lentulus spake against it, and Cato cried out on thother side also, that Pompey was deceived, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cutte of. In the meane time, newes came to Rome, that Cæsar had wonne Ariminum, a fayer great citie of Italie, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three hundred horse, and five thowsand footemen, and would not tarie for the rest of his armie that was yet on thother side of the mountaines in Gaule, but made hast rather to surprise his enemies apon the sodaine, being affrayd and in garboyle, not looking for him so soone: rather then to geve them time to be provided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the rivers side of Rubicon, (which was the utmost confine of the province he had in charge towardes Italie) he stayed sodainely, weying with him selfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that being of a marvelous height from the ground do hedlong throw themselves downe, closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: crying out these wordes only unto them that were by, in the Greeke tongue, Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος: in English, Let the dye be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hasard, and according to our proverbe, to set all on six and seven) he passed over with his armie. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to Rome, they were in such a marvelous feare, as the like was never seene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly unto Pompey, and all the other magistrates of the citie fled unto him also. Tullus asking Pompey what power he had to resist them, he aunswered him, faltring somewhat in his speach: that he had the two legions ready which Cæsar sent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leavied, in hast, he should make up the nomber of thirtie thowsand fighting men. Then Tullus cryed out openly: Ah, thou hast mocked us, Pompey: and thereupon gave order they should send ambassadors unto Cæsar. There was one Phaonius in the companie, who otherwise was no ill man, saving that he was somewhat to bolde, thinking to counterfeate Catoes plaine maner of speach: he bad Pompey then stampe his foote apon

Rubicon fl.

Cæsar passed over the river of Rubicon.

Cæsars saying: Let the dye be cast.

Phaonius overbold words unto Pompey.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

the ground, and make those souldiers come which he had promised them. Pompey gently bare with Phaonius mocke. But when Cato told him also, what he had prophecied before hand of Cæsar, he aunswered him againe: In deed thou hast prophecied more truly then I, but I have delte more frendly then he. Then Cato thought good that they should make him lieutenant generall of Rome with full and absolute power to commaund all, saying: that the selfe same men which doe the greatest mischiefe, know best also how to remedie the same. So he immediatly departed into Sicile, having the charge and government of that contrie: and also every one of the other Senators went unto the charge they were appointed. Thus all Italy being in armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of Rome, came flying thither from all partes: and those on thother side that were within Rome, went out as fast, and forsooke the citie in this trouble and disorder. That which might serve being willing to obeye, was found very weake: and that on thother side which by disobedience did hurte, was to stronge and ill to be governed by the magistrates, having lawe to commaund. For there was no possibilitie to pacifie their feare, neither would they suffer Pompey to offer thinges as he would: but every man followed his owne fancie, even as he found him selfe greived, affraid, or in doubt, and in one daie they were in divers mindes. Pompey could heare nothing of certaintie of his enemies. For some, one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he saw the tumult and confusion so great at Rome, as there was no meane to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behinde, that he would take them for Cæsars frendes, and so at night departed out of the citie. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the goddes, as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So Pompey, even in his greatest trouble and most daunger, might thinke him selfe happy to have every mans goodwill as he had. For, though divers misliked the cause of this warre, yet no man hated the captaine: but there were moe found that could

Tumult at Rome apon Cæsars comming.

Pompey forsooke Rome.

Digitized by Google

not forsake Pompey for the love they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their libertie. Shortly after Pompey was gone out of Rome, Cæsar was come to Rome, who possessing the citie, spake very gently unto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: saving that he threatned Metellus, one of the Tribunes of the people, to put him to death, bycause he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the common wealth. Unto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter speach also, saying: that it was not so hard a thing for him to doe it, as to speake it. Thus having put downe Metellus, and taken that he needed to serve his turne, he tooke apon him to follow Pompey, thinking to drive him out of Italy, before that his armie he had in Spayne should come to him. Pompey in the meane time, having taken the citie of Brundusium, and gotten some shippes together: he made the two Consuls presently imbarke with thirtie enseignes of footemen, which he sent beyond the sea before unto Dyrrachium. And incontinently after that, he sent his father in lawe Scipio, and Cneus Pompey his sonne, into Syria, to provide him shippes. Him selfe on thother side, fortified the rampers of the citie, and placed the lightest souldiers he had upon the walles, and commaunded the Brundusinians not to sturre out of their houses: and further, he cast trenches within the citie, at the ende of the streetes in divers places, and filled those trenches with sharpe pointed stakes, saving two streetes onely, which went unto the haven. Then the third day after, having imbarked all the rest of his souldiers at his pleasure, he sodainly lifting up a signe into the ayer, to geve them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they straight ranne to him with speede, and quickly receyving them into his shippes, he wayed ancker, and hoysed saile. Cæsar perceyving the walles naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that Pompey was fled: who hasting after him, had almost ronne upon the sharpe stakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the Brundusinians geven him warning of them. So he stayed, and ranne not overthwart the citie, but fetched a compasse about to goe to the haven: where he found that all the shippes were under saile, two shippes onely excepted,

Cæsar entred Rome when Pompey fled.

Cæsar followeth Pompey.

Pompeis stratageame at Brundusium, for his flying thence from Cæsar.

Pompey forsaketh Italy.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

upon the which were left a few souldiers. Some thinke that this departure of Pompey, was one of the best stratageames of warre that ever he used. Notwithstanding, Cæsar marvelled much, that he being in a strong citie, and looking for his armie to come out of Spayne, and being master of the sea besides, that he would ever forsake Italy. Cicero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themistocles counsell, then Pericles: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened unto Pericles, then Themistocles time. Yea Cæsar him selfe shewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken Numerius one of Pompeys frends, he sent him unto Pompey at Brundusium, to offer him reasonable condicions of peace: But Numerius followed Pompey, and sailed away with him. By this meanes, Cæsar in three score dayes being lord of all Italie without any bloodshed: he was very desirous to follow with spede after Pompey. But bycause he had no ships ready, he let him go, and hasted towardes Spayne, to joyne Pompeys army there unto his. Now Pompey in the meane space, had gotten a marvelous great power together both by sea and by land. His armie by sea was wonderfull. For he had five hundred good shippes of warre, and of galliottes, foystes, and pinnases, an infinite nomber. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of Rome, and of all Italie, to the nomber of seven thowsand horse, all riche men, of great houses, and valliant minds. But his footemen, they were men of all sorts, and raw souldiers untrained, whom Pompey continually exercised, lying at the citie of Berrœe, not sitting idely, but taking paines, as if he had bene in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to incorage others, seeing Pompey being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at all peeces, and then a horsebacke, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easely to put it up againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with such agillitie to hyt pointe blancke, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that fewe young men could doe the like. Thither came divers kinges, princes, and great lordes of contries, and yeelded them selves unto him: and of Romane captaines that had borne office, he had of them

Cicero reproved Pompey.

Cæsar leaveth Pompey, and goeth into Spayne.

Pompeys power in Greece.

Pompey lying at Berrœe, traineth his souldiers.

Digitized by Google

about him, the nomber of a whole Senate. Amongst them came unto him Labienus also, who before was Cæsars frend, and had alwayes bene with him in his warres in Gaule. There came unto him also, Brutus, the sonne of that Brutus which was slaine in Gaule, a valliant man, and which had never spoken unto Pompey until that day, bycause he tooke him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defendor of the libertie of Rome. Cicero him selfe also, though he had both written and geven counsell to the contrarie, thought it a shame to him not to be amongest the nomber of them that would hazard their lives for defence of their contry. There came unto him also Tidius Sextius even into Macedon, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when Pompey saw him, he rose and went to meete him, judging it a good token of their goodwills unto him, when such olde men as he, chose rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with safety. Hereupon they sate in counsell, and following Catoes opinion, decreed that they should put no citizen of Rome to death but in battel, and should sacke no citie that was subject to the Empire of Rome: the which made Pompeys part the better liked. For they that had nothing to doe with the warres, either bycause they dwelt farre of, or els for that they were so poore, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word favor Pompeys parte, thinking him an enemie both to the goddes and men, that wished not Pompey victorie. Cæsar also shewed him selfe very mercifull and curteous, where he overcame. For when he had wonne all Pompeys armie that was in Spayne, he suffred the captaines that were taken to go at libertie, and onely reserved the souldiers. Then comming over the Alpes againe, he passed through all Italy, and came to the citie of Brundusium in the winter quarter: and there passing over the sea, he went unto the citie of Oricum, and landed there. Now Cæsar having Vibius, one of Pompeys famillier frends with him, whom he had taken prisoner: he sent him unto Pompey to pray againe that they might meete, and both of them desperse their armies within three dayes, and being reconciled (geving

Labienus forsaketh Cæsar, and goeth to Pompey.

Cicero followeth Pompey.

The clemency of Cæsar.

Cæsar comming out of Spayne, retorned to Brundusium.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

their faith one to an other) so to retorne into Italy like good frends together. Pompey thought againe, that these were new devises to intrappe him. Thereupon he sodainely went downe to the sea, and tooke all the places of strength by the sea side, safly to lodge his campe in, and all the ports, creekes and harbars for ships to lie in rode: so that what wind so ever blew on the skie, it served his turne, to bring him either men, vittells, or money. Cæsar on thother side was so distressed both by sea and by land, that he was driven to procuer battel, and to assaile Pompey even in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he ever had the better in all skirmishes, saving once, when he was in daunger to have lost all his army,

Pompey overthrewe Cæsar.

For Pompey had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them flie, and had slaine two thowsand of them in the field: but he durst not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon Cæsar saide to his frendes, that his enemie had wonne the victorie that day, if he had knowen how to overcome. This victorie put Pompeys men in such courage, that they would needes hasard battell. And Pompey him selfe also though he wrote letters unto straunge kinges, captaines, and cities of his confederacie, as if he had already wonne all: was yet afrayed to fight an other battell, thinking it better by tracte of time, and distresse of vittells, to overcome him. For Cæsars men being olde and expert souldiers, and wont ever to have the victorie when they fought together: he knew they would be lothe to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driven to often removing of their campe from place to place, and still to fortifie and intrench them selves, and therefore that they would rather put it to adventure out of hande, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that Pompey had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to sturre, perceyving that after this last bickering Cæsar being scanted with vittells raised his campe, and departed thence to goe into Thessaly, through the contrie of the Athamanians: then he could no more bridle their glorie and corage, which cried, Cæsar is fled, let us follow him. And others, Let us retorne home againe into Italy. And others also sent their frendes and

Digitized by Google

servauntes before to Rome, to hier them houses neere the market place: intending when they came thether to sue for offices in the common welth. Some there were also that in a jollitie would needes take shippe, and saile into the Ile of Lesbos, unto Cornelia (whom Pompey had sent thether) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon assembling the counsell, Afranius thought it best to winne Italy, for that was the chiefest marke to be shot at in this warre: for whosoever obteyned that, had straight all Sicile, Sardinia, Corsica, Spayne, and Gaule at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a dishonor to Pompey (which in reason should touche him above all thinges) to suffer their contrie to be in such cruell bondage and subjection unto slaves and flatterers of tyrantes, offering it selfe as it were into their handes. But Pompey neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flie from Cæsar, and to make him follow him, sithe fortune had geven him oportunitie to have Cæsar in chase: nor lawfull also before the gods, to forsake his father in lawe Scipio, and many other also that had bene Consuls, despersed abrode in Græce and Thessaly, which should immediatly fall into Cæsars handes, with all their riches and armies they had. Furthermore, he said, that they had care enough for the citie of Rome, which drew the warres fardest of from them: so as, they remaining safe and quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the misery of warres) might in thend peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conqueror. With this determinacion, he marched forward to follow Cæsar, being determined not to geve him battell, but to beseege him, and only to compasse him in still being neere unto him, and so to cut him of from vittells. There was also an other reason that made him to follow that determinacion. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech geven out among the Romane knights, that so soone as ever they had overcome Cæsar, they must also bring Pompey to be a private man againe. Some saye therefore, that Pompey would never afterwardes imploy Cato in any greater matters of waight in all this warre, but when he followed Cæsar, he left him captaine of his armie to kepe his cariage by sea, fearing that so soone as Cæsar were

POMPEY

Pompey followeth Cæsar into Thessaly.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY once overcome, he would make him straight also resigne his authoritie. Pompey following Cæsar in this maner, faire and softly, they cryed out apon him, that he made no warre with Cæsar, but against his contrie and the Senate, bycause he might be still in authoritie: and that he would never leave to have them for his servauntes and gard about him, which should rule and commaund the world. Furthermore, Domitius Aenobarbus, calling him continually Agamemnon, and king of kinges: made him much to be envied. Phaonius also mocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldest: for he went crying up and downe, My masters, I geve you warning, you are like to eate no Thusculan figges this yeare. And Lucius Afranius also, he that had lost the armie which he had in Spayne, and was also suspected for a traitour, seeing Pompey then refused to come to battell: I mervaile, said he, that they which accuse me, doe not lustely goe to finde him out, whome they call the marchaunt and common buyer of provinces, to fight with him presently. With these and many such other lewd speaches, they compelled Pompey in thend (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not denie his frendes any thinge) to follow their vaine hope and desires, and to forsake his owne wise determination: the which thinge, no good shippe master, and much lesse a chiefe and soveraine captaine, over so many nations and so great armies, should have suffred, and consented unto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the phisitions, that would not follow the fonde desire of the sicke pacientes: was him selfe contented to obey the worst parte of his armie, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would thinke or judge them to be wise men, and in their wittes, who walking up and downe their campe, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were at strife together, making frendes to be highe bishoppe, (which office Cæsar had) as if they should have fought with Tigranes king of Armenia, or with the king of the Nabatheians, which had camped by them, and not with Cæsar and his armie: who had taken a thowsand townes by assaulte, had subdued above three hundred severall nations, and had

Pompey mocked of his owne souldiers.

Cæsars conquests.

Digitized by Google

wonne infinite battells of the Germanes and Gaules, and was never overcome: had also taken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise slaine so many at divers battells. All this notwithstanding, they of Pompeys side still being importunate of him, and troubling him in this sorte: in fine, when they were come into the fields of Pharsalia, they compelled Pompey to call a counsell. There Labienus, generall of the horsemen standing up, sware before them all, that he would not retorne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like othe all the rest did take. The next night following, Pompey thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a marvelous great clapping of their handes: and that he him selfe did set forth the temple of Venus the conquerour, with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was affrayed, bycause Cæsars familie was discended from this goddesse Venus, that his dreame did signifie, that he should have the honor of the victorie, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there ranne sodaine feareful noises and tumultes in his campe without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe upon it. At the fourth watche, when the watche is renued in the morning, there was seene a marvelous great light over Cæsars campe, and they were all at rest. Of that, there came as it were a torche of a burning fire, and fell in Pompeys campe. The which Cæsar him selfe sayed he saw, when he went to searche the watche. At the breake of the daye, Cæsar being determined to raise his campe, and to go to the citie of Scotusa, as his souldiers were busie about overthrowing of their tentes, and sending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skowtes unto him, that brought him worde they sawe a great deale of armor and weapon caryed to and fro in their enemies campe, and hard a noise and bussling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other skowtes, that brought word also that their voward was already set in battell raye. Then Cæsar said, that the daye was nowe come they had longed for so sore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of vittells:

Labienus, generall of Pompeis horsemen.

Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharsalia.

Wonderfull noises hard in Pompeys campe.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

and thereupon gave order presently that they should put out the red coates or armes upon his tente, which was the signe all the Romanes used, to shew that they would fight. The souldiers seeing that out, left their cariage and tentes, and with great showtes of joye ranne to arme them selves. The captaines of every band also, bestowed every man in such place as he should fight, and so they conveyed them selves into battell raye, without any tumulte or disorder, as quietly, as if they should have entred into a daunce. Pompey him selfe led the right winge of his armie against Antony. The middle of the battell he gave unto Scipio his father in lawe, being right against Domitius Calvinus. The left winge also was led by Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus, the which was garded with men of armes. For all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distresse Cæsar if they could, that was directly against them: and to overthrowe the tenth legion that was so much accounted of, being the valliantest souldiers the enemie had in all his armie, amongest the which Cæsar did ever use to fight in person. Cæsar then seeing the left winge of his enemies so strong with the gard of the horsemen, and being affrayed of the brightnes of their armor: brought forward six enseignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion, commaunding them that no man should sturre, least their enemies should discover them. And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemies should come to geve charge upon them, that then they should ronne with speed on the toe side of the formest ranckes, and not to throw their dartes farre from them, as the valliantest souldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them upwardes into their enemies eyes and faces. For, said he, these brave fellowes and fine daunsers, will never abide to have their faces marred. And this was Cæsars devise at that time. Pompey being a horse backe, rode up and downe to consider the ordinaunce of both battells: and perceyving that his enemies stoode still in their ranckes, looking for the signall of battell, and that his owne battell on thother side waved up and downe disorderly, as men unskilfull in warres: he was affrayed they would flie before they were charged. Therupon he straightly commaunded

Pompeys army set in battell raye in Pharsalia.

Cæsars order of fight.

Digitized by Google

them in the voward, that they should stedily kepe their rancks, and standing close together should so defend them selves, receyving the charge of the enemy. But Cæsar disliked of that devise, for thereby, said he, the force of their blowes was lessened and in withholding them from geving the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which thassailant carieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them more over fainte hearted, in receyving the charge of the enemies. In Cæsars armie, there were about two and twentie thowsand fighting men: and in Pompeys armie, somewhat above twise as many. Now, when the worde of battell was geven of either side, and that the trompettes did sounde the allarme: every man beganne to looke to him selfe. But a few of the chiefest of the Romanes, and certaine Græcians that were there also out of the set battel, perceyving the imminent daunger, beganne to bethinke them, to what passe the ambition and wilfull contencion betwene these two men, had brought the state of Rome. For, the weapons of kinsmen, the bandes of brethern, the enseignes all alike, the flower of so many valliant men of one citie, did serve for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prickt forward with covetousnes, is quite blinde and without reason. For if they could have bene contented quietly to have governed that which they had conquered: the greatest, and best part of the world, both by sea and by land, was subject unto them. Or otherwise, if they could not have quenched their unsatiable desire of victorie and triumphe, they had occasion of warre enough offred them against the Parthians and Germanes. Furthermore, they had enough to do besides to conquer Scythia, and the Indians: and withal, they had had an honest culler to have cloked their ambitious desires, if it had bene but to have brought the barbarous people to a civill life. For what horse men of Scythia, or arrowes of Parthia, or riches of Indians, could have abidden the power of three score and ten thowsand Romane souldiers, and specially being led by two so famous captaines, as Pompey, and Cæsar? whose names, these straunge and farre nations understood, longe before the name of the Romanes: so great were their victories, having conquered so many wilde and

Pompeis ordinance of his battell.

Cæsar misliketh Pompeis ordinance.

Battell betwext Cæsar and Pompey in Pharsalia.

Digitized by Google

barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one against the other, not regarding their honor, which made them so ambitious: did not spare their owne contry, who had untill that time remained unvincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the love of Iulia, and marying with her, was suspected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conspiracie made betwene them, for a private benefit, more then for any true frendship. Now, when the feildes of Pharsalia were covered over with men, with horse and armor, and that the signall of battell was geven on either side: the first man of Cæsars army that advaunced forward to geve charge, was Caius Crassinius, captaine of six score and five men, to performe a great promise which he had made unto Cæsar. For Cæsar, when he came out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the successe of this battell? Crassinius holding out his right hand unto him, coragyously cryed: Oh Cæsar, thine is the victorie, and this daye thou shalt commend me either alive or dead. Then remembring these wordes, he brake out of the ranckes, and many following after him, ranne amongest the middest of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, and made great slaughter. But he pressing forward still, one with a thrust ranne him through the mouth, that the swords pointe came through at his necke. Thereupon Crassinius being slaine, the battell was equall. Pompey did not make his left winge marche over sodainely, but stayed, and cast his eyes abroade to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already devided their companies, meaning to compasse in Cæsar, and to make the small nomber of horsemen which he had before him to geve backe apon the squadron of his footemen. On thother side, as soone as Cæsar had geven the signal of battel, his horsemen retired backe a litle, and the six enseignes which he had placed secretly behinde them, (being three thowsand fighting men) ranne sodainely to assaile the enemie upon the flancke, and when they came neere unto the horsemen, they threw the pointes of their dartes upwardes according to Cæsars commaundement, and hyt the younge gentlemen full

Caius Crassinius geveth the onset of Cæsars side.

Crassinius slaine.

Digitized by Google

in their faces. They being utterly unskilfull to fight, and least of all looking for such maner of fight: had not the hartes to defend themselves, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heades, and clapping their handes on their faces, shamefully fled. They being overthrowen, Cæsars men made no accompt to follow them, but went and gave charge upon the battel of footemen, in that place specially where they had no gard of horsemen, whereby they might the easelier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the voward also by the tenth legion, perceyving them selves (contrarie to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to have environned them: they could make no longer resistance. They also being likewise driven to flie, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, and conjectured the flying of his horsemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wittes end, forgetting that he was Pompey the great: for that he went straight into his campe, and spake never a word to any man, rightly verifying Homers verses to this effect:

POMPEY

Pompeis horsemen put to flight by Cæsar.

Pompeis flying in the fields of Pharsalia.

> But mightie Iove who sittes aloft in yvorie chariot hie,
> Strake Ajax with so great a feare that Ajax by and by,
> Let fall his lethern target made of tough oxe hide seven folde,
> And ran away, not looking backe, for all he was so bold.

In this estate Pompey entred into his tent, and sate him downe there a great while, and spake never a worde: untill such time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he said no more: but What, even into our campe? and so rising up, he put a gowne on his backe, even fit for his misfortune, and secretly stale out of the campe. The other legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the tent kepers, and their servantes that garded the campe. For Asinius Pollio writeth (who was at that battell on Cæsars side) that there were slaine onely but six thowsand souldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, Cæsars souldiers then found plainly the madnes and vanitie of Pompeys men. For, all their tentes and pavilions were full of nosegayes and garlandes of

Asinius Pollio reporteth this battell.

Digitized by Google

mirtle, and their couches all covered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do sacrifice for joye, rather then to arme them selves to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine and foolish hope. When Pompey was gone a litle way from his campe, he forsooke his horse, having a very few with him: and perceyving that no man pursued him, he went a foote faire and softly, his head full of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might have, who for foure and thirty yeares space together, was wont continually to cary victorie away, and beganne then even in his last cast, to prove what it was to flie, and to be overcome: and who thought then with him selfe, how in one howers space he had lost the honor and riches, which he had gotten in so many foughten feildes and battels, whereby he was not longe before followed and obeyed of so many thowsand men of warre, of so many horsemen, and of such a great flete of shippes on the sea, and then to goe as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the citie of Larissa, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirst, he fell downe of his bellie, and dranke of the river. Then rising up againe, he went his way thence, and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the daye, he went into a litle bote upon the river, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the slaves, he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldely to goe to Cæsar, and not to be affrayed. Thus rowing up and downe the shore side, in this litle bote, he spyed a great shippe of burden in the maine sea, ryding at anker, which was ready to waye anker, and to saile awaye. The master of the shippe was a Romane, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him by sight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night before, that he sawe Pompey speake unto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in poverty and in misery. So, he had tolde this dreame unto the mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly use to doe, specially

The miserable state of Pompey.

Peticius dreame of Pompey.

Digitized by Google

when they dreame of such weighty matters, and being at leasure withall) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he sawe a litle bote of the river rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their clokes at them, and held out their hands. Thereupon Peticius standing up, knew Pompey straight, even in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gave him his hand, calling him Pompey by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Therupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishappe, he received him into his shippe, and all those he would have with him: and then hoised saile. With Pompey, there were both the Lentuli, and Faonius. Shortly after also, they perceived king Deiotarus comming from the river to them, that beckened and made signes to receive them: which they did. At supper time, the master of the shippe, made ready such meate as he had abord. Faonius seeing Pompey for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of him selfe: ran unto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwardes continued still to waite upon him, and to doe such service about him, as servaunts do to their masters, even to washing of his feete, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of service, he sayd:

Pompey imbarketh in Peticius shippe a Romane.

Good gods, how every thing becommeth noble men!

Pompey passing then by the citie of Amphipolis, coasted from thence into the Ile of Lesbos, to goe fetch his wife Cornelia and his sonne, being then in the city of Mitylene. There having cast out his ancker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore and sent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectacion, who was still put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought unto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the city of Dyrrachium. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hart so much as to salute her, but letting her understande rather by his teares then wordes, the great mis-

Pompey arriveth in the Isle of Lesbos, at the citie of Mitylene.

Digitized by Google

fortune Pompey had: told her, she must dispatch quickly, if she would see Pompey with one shippe only, and none of his, but borowed. The young Lady hearing these newes, fell downe in a sound before him, and neither spake nor sturred of long time: but after she was come to her selfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, she went with speede through the city unto the sea side. There Pompey meeting her, tooke her in his armes, and imbraced her. But she sincking under him, fell downe, and sayd: 'Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not thine (good 'husband) that I see thee now brought to one poore shippe, 'who before thou mariedst thy unfortunate Cornelia, were 'wont to saile these seas with five hundred ships. Alas, why 'art thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leave me 'to cursed fate and my wicked desteny: sith my selfe is cause 'of all this thy evill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, 'if I had bene dead, before I heard of the death of my first 'husband Publius Crassus, whom the wretched Parthians 'slue! And how wise a woman had I bene, (if according to my 'determinacion) I had killed my selfe immediatly after him: 'where now I live to bring yet this misfortune unto Pompey 'the great!' It is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this maner: 'Per-'adventure, Cornelia mine, thou hast knowen a better fortune, 'which hath also deceived thee, bicause she hath continued 'lenger with me then her maner is. But since we are borne 'men, we must paciently beare these troubles, and prove 'fortune againe. For it is no impossible matter for us againe 'to come into prosperitie out of this present miserie, as to 'fall out of late prosperitie into present calamitie.' When Cornelia heard him say so, she sent backe into the city for her stuffe and family. The Mitylenians also came openly to salute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the city, and to refresh him selfe: but Pompey would not, and gave them counsell to obey the conqueror, and not to feare any thing, for Cæsar was a just man, and of a curteous nature. Then Pompey turning unto Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the citizens also to see him: made his complaint unto him, and reasoned a litle with him about divine providence.

The sorowe of Cornelia, for Pompeys overthrow.

The meting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia.

The words of Cornelia unto Pompey.

Pompeis aunswere unto Cornelia.

Pompey reasoneth with Cratippus the Philosopher about divine providence.

Digitized by Google

Cratippus curteously yeelded unto him, putting him still in better hope, fearing least he would have growen too hot and troublesome, if he would have holden him hard to it. For Pompey at the length might have asked him, what providence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And Cratippus might have aunswered him, that for the ill government of the common wealth at Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the handes of a soveraine Prince. Peradventure Cratippus might then have asked him: How, and whereby Pompey wouldest thou make us beleve, if thou haddest overcome Cæsar, that thou wouldest have used thy good fortune better then he? But for divine matters, referre them to the goddes as it pleaseth them. Pompey taking his wife and frends with him, hoised saile, and landed no where, but compelled to take freshe acates and water. The first city he came unto, was Attalia in the contry of Pamphylia. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of Cilicia, and many souldiers also, insomuch he had a three score Senators of Rome againe in his company. Then, understanding that his army by sea was yet whole, and that Cato had gathered together a great number of his souldiers after the overthrowe, whome he had transported with him into Africke: he lamented, and complained unto his frends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, and not suffred him to helpe him selfe with his other force wherin he was the stronger: and that he kept not still neere unto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently have repared to his power ready by sea, to have resisted his enemy. To confesse a troth, Pompey committed not so great a fault in all this warre, neither did Cæsar put foorth a better devise, then to make his enemie fight farre from his armie by sea. Thus Pompey being driven to attempt somewhat according to his small abilitie, he sent Ambassadors unto the cities. To others, he went him selfe in person also to require money, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sodaine approach of his enemy, least he should prevent before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to resist him: he bethought him selfe what place he might best retyre unto

Pompey arriveth at Attalia, in the contrie of Pamphylia.

Pompeys great error, and Cæsars crafty devise.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

for his most safetie. When he had considered of it, he thought that there was never a province of the Romanes that could save and defend them. And for other straunge realmes, he thought Parthia above all other, was the best place to receive them into at that present, having so smal power as they had: and that was better able to helpe and aide them with more power then they. Other of his counsell were of minde to go into Africke, unto king Iuba. But Theophanes Lesbian said, he thought it a great folly, to leave Ægypt which was but three dayes sailing from thence, and king Ptolomy, (being but lately comen to mans state, and bound unto Pompey for the late frendshippe and favor his father found of him) and to goe put him selfe into the handes of the Parthians, the vilest, and unfaithfullest nation in the world, and not to prove the modesty of a Romane, that had bene his father in law, whose prosperity if he could have endured, he might have bene the chiefest man: and now to put him selfe to Arsaces good will, who could not away with Crassus when he lived. Further, he thought it an ill parte also, for him to go cary his young wife of the noble house of Scipio, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for them to use what villany and insolency they list to any. For, admit she have no villany offered her by them: yet is it an undecent thing, to thinke she might have bene dishonored, they having her in their power to doe it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this only that turned Pompey unto Euphrates: for it seemeth that Pompeys counsell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into Ægypt, he departed out of Cyprus in a gally of Seleucia with his wife Cornelia. The residue of his traine imbarked also, some into gallies, and others into marchauntes shippes of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without daunger. When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomy was in the citie of Pelusium with his armie, making warre against his sister: he went thither, and sent a messenger before unto the king, to advertise him of his arrivall, and to intreate him to receive him. King Ptolomy was then but a young man, insomuch as one Pothinus governed all the whole

Theophanes Lesbian perswaded Pompey to flie into Ægypt.

Pompey arriveth in Ægypt, and goeth to Pelusium.

Digitized by Google

realme under him. He assembled a counsell of the chiefest and wisest men of the court, who had such credit and authoritie as it pleased him to geve them. They being assembled, he commaunded every man in the kings name to say his minde touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the king should receive him or not. It was a miserable thinge to see Pothinus, an eunuche of the kinges, and Theodotus of Chio, an hyered schoolemaster to teache the young king rethoricke, and Achillas Ægyptian to consult among them selves what they should doe with Pompey the great. These were the chiefest counsellers of all his eunuches, and of those that had brought him up. Nowe did Pompey ride at ancker upon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this counsel: in the which the opinions of other were divers, for they would not have received him: the other also, that he should be received. But the Rethoritian Theodotus to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, sayd he, if we receive him, we shall have Cæsar our enemie, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do deny him on thother side, Pompey will blame them for refusing of him, and Cæsar for not keeping of him. Therefore, this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby, they should winne the good will of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: and some say moreover, that he added this mocke withall: A dead man bytes not. They being determined of this among them selves, gave Achillas commission to doe it. He taking with him Septimius (who had charge aforetime under Pompey) and Salvius an other Centurion also, with three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards Pompeys gallie, about whom were at that time, the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely show and maner, nor nothing aunswerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher bote: they began then to mistrust the small accompt that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to returne backe, and to launche againe into the sea, being out of the

POMPEY

Pothinus an eunuche, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all Ægypt.

The deliberacion of the Ægyptians, for the receiving of Pompey.

Theodotus perswaded them to kill Pompey.

A dead man byteth not.

Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

Digitized by Google

POMPEY

How Pompey was received into Ægypt.

daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fisher bote drew neere, and Septimius rose, and saluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as soveraine Captaine: and Achillas also spake to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, bicause that by the shore side, there was a great deale of mudde and sande banckes, so that his gally should have no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre of divers of the kings gallies which were arming with all speede possible, and all the shore besides ful of souldiers. Thus, though Pompey and his company would have altered their mindes, they could not have told how to have escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had geven the murtherer occasion to have executed his cruelty. So taking his leave of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end: he commaunded two Centurions to go down before him into the Ægyptians bote, and Philip one of his slaves infranchised, with an other slave called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hande to receive him into his bote, he turned him to his wife, and sonne, and sayd these verses of Sophocles unto them:

> The man that into Court comes free,
> Must there in state of bondage be.

These were the last words he spake unto his people, when he left his owne gally, and went into the Ægyptians bote. The lande being a great way of from his gally, when he saw never a man in the bote speake frendly unto him, beholding Septimius, he said unto him: Me thinkes my frend I should know thee, for that thou hast served with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gave him no aunswere, nor shewed him any curtesie. Pompey seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hande, in the which he had wrytten an oration that he ment to make unto king Ptolomy, and beganne to read it. When they came neere the shore, Cornelia with her servaunts and frends about her, stoode up in her shippe in great feare, to see what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on

Digitized by Google

the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honor him. But even as Pompey tooke Philip his hande to arise more easily, Septimus came first behinde him and thrust him through with his sword. Next unto him also, Salvius and Achillas drew out their swords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke up his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gave him, onely sighing a litle. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, gave such a feareful crie, that it was hard to the shore: then waying up their anckers with spede, they hoysed saile, and departed their way, having winde at will that blew a lusty gale, as soone as they had gotten the maine sea. The Ægyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and unpossible to be overtaken: they let them goe. Then having striken of Pompeys heade, they threwe his body over borde, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. Philip his infranchised bondman remained ever by it, untill such time as the Ægyptians had seene it their bellies full. Then having washed his body with salt water, and wrapped it up in an old shirt of his, bicause he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought upon the sands, and found at the length a peece of an old fishers bote, enough to serve to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathering the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came unto him an old Romane, who in his youth had served under Pompey, and sayd unto him: O frend, what art thou that preparest the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not have all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in so devout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to have dwelt so long in a straunge contrie, where I have abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may have this good happe, with mine owne hands to touche Pompeys body, and to helpe to bury the only and most famous Captaine of the

Pompey the great, cruelly slaine as he landed.

The manlines and pacience of Pompey at his death.

The funeralls of Pompey.

Digitized by Google

Romanes. The next day after, Lucius Lentulus not knowing what had passed, comming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore side, and perceived a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, What is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, Alas, sayd he, perhappes it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a litle, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not longe after, Cæsar also came into Ægypt that was in great warres, where Pompeys head was presented unto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it: and abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murtherer. Then taking his ringe wherewith he sealed his letters, whereuppon was graven a Lyon holding a sword: he burst out a weeping. Achillas and Pothinus he put to death. King Ptolomy him selfe also, being overthrowen in battell by the river of Nilus, vanished away, and was never heard of after. Theodotus the Rethoritian escaped Cæsars hands, and wandred up and downe Ægypt in great misery, despised of every man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slue Cæsar) conquering Asia, met him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly devise, at the length slue him. The ashes of Pompeys bodie were afterwards brought unto his wife Cornelia, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of Alba.

Lucius Lentulus slaine.

Cæsar arriveth in Ægypt.

Pompeis ring.

The murtherers of Pompey put to death.

Digitized by Google

THE COMPARISON OF POMPEY WITH AGESILAUS

OW that we have declared unto you, the lives of Agesilaus and Pompey: let us compare their maners and condicions together, which are these. First, Pompey came to his honor and greatnesse, by his integritie and so advanced him selfe: and was a great aide unto Sylla, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid those tyrans out of Italie, who held it in bondage. But Agesilaus usurped the kingdom of Lacedæmon, against the law of gods and men, condemning Leotychides for a bastard, whom his brother avowed to be his lawfull sonne: and contemned besides the oracle of the gods, which gave warning of a lame king. Furthermore, Pompey did honor Sylla while he lived, and when he was dead, gave his body honorable buriall in despite of Lepidus: and maried his daughter unto Faustus, the sonne of Sylla. Agesilaus contrarily did dishonor Lysander, apon light occasion: but Pompey had done no lesse for Sylla, than Sylla had done for him. Lysander on thother side, had made Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, and Lieutenant generall of all Græce. Thirdly, the injuries that Pompey did unto the common weale, were done of necessitie, to please Cæsar and Scipio, both of them his fathers in law. Agesilaus also, to satisfie his sonnes love, saved Sphodrias life that had deserved death, for the mischiefe he had done the Athenians: and he willingly also tooke parte with Phœbidas, not secretly, but openly, bicause he had broken the peace made with the Thebans. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did unto the Romanes, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his frends: the same did Agesilaus unto the Lacedæmonians, through anger and selfe wil, in renuing warre with the Bœotians, apon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the

How Pompey and Agesilaus came to their greatnes.

The faultes of Agesilaus and Pompey.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

fortune of the one and the other, in the faultes they committed: Pompeis fortune unto the Romanes was unlooked for. But Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to avoyd the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For, though Leotychides had bene proved a bastard ten thowsand times, yet had not the race of the Eurytiontides failed, but they could have found an other lawfull king among them, that should have gone upright: had not Lysander, favoring Agesilaus, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the Lacedæmonians. On thother side againe for matters of government, there was never such an excellent devise found out, as was done by Agesilaus: to helpe the feare and daunger the Lacedæmonians were in, for those that fled at the battell of Leuctres, when he counselled them to let the law sleepe for that day. Neither can any man matche Pompeis with the like: who, to shew his frends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which him selfe had made. For Agesilaus being driven of necessity to abolish the law, to save the life of his citizens, found such a devise that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it should doe hurt. I must needes commende this for a great vertue and civility in Agesilaus, who so soone as he received the Scytala (or scrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his contrie, and left the warre of Asia. He did not as Pompey, who made him selfe great to the benefit of the common wealth, and for the common wealthes sake, did forsake such honor and so great authoritie, as never Captaine before him, but Alexander the great, had the like in those partes. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and exploytes in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that Pompey obtained, and the great armies that he led: Xenophon him selfe if he were alive, could not compare Agesilaus victories unto his: although for the singular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie graunted him, to wryte and speake of Agesilaus what he thought good. Me thinkes also, there was great difference betwext Pompey and Agesilaus, in their equitie and clemencie towardes their enemies. For, whilest Agesilaus went about to conquer Thebes, and utterly

Thinges done by Agesilaus and Pompey in warres.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

to race and destroy the citie of Messina, the one being an auncient citie of his contrie, and the other the capitall citie of Bœotia: he had almost lost his owne citie of Sparta, for at the least he lost the commaundement and rule he had over the rest of Græce. The other contrarily gave cities unto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and maner of life: and when it was in his choyse to lead Tigranes king of Armenia, in triumphe at Rome, he chose rather to make him a confederat of the Romanes, saying, that he preferred perpetuall honor before one dayes glorie. But since it is reason we should geve the first place and honor of the discipline of warres, unto a Captaine of the greatest skill and experience in warres: the Lacedæmonian then leaveth the Romane farre behind. For first of all Agesilaus never forsooke his citie, though it was besieged with three score and ten thowsand men, and that there were very fewe within the same to defende it, the which also a litle before had bene overthrowen at the battell of Leuctres. And Pompey on thother side, hearinge that Cæsar with five thowsand footemen onely had taken a towne in Italie: fled from Rome in verie feare. And therein he can not be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conveyed his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence, and fled: where in deede he should either have overcome, valliantly fighting for defense of his contrie, or else have received the condicions of peace which the conquerors should have offered him. For, he was a citizen and allied unto him. For he that thought it an untollerable thing to prolong the tearme of his government, or to graunt him a second Consulshippe: did now geve him oportunitie, suffering him to take the city of Rome, to say unto Metellus the Tribune, and the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth him selfe the stronger, and also to keepe him selfe from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agesilaus excelling in that, did ever keepe him selfe invincible. Cæsar also had great skill therein, to

Agesilaus lost the signorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pompeis fault to forsake Rome.

A speciall point of a skilfull Captaine.

Digitized by Google

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

keepe him selfe from daunger being the weaker, and againe could tell howe to compell Pompey to hazard battell, to his utter destruction by lande, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made him selfe Lorde of the treasure, vittells, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their handes, without fighting. That which they alleage in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for so great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of an armie may easily be brought from his wise and safe counsell, with rumor and tumult of a few fearefull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonor for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no straunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompey the great, whose campe the Romanes called their contrie, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Consuls that governed at Rome, rebells and traitors to the common wealth of Rome: who coulde excuse him (who was never seene commaunded by other then him selfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and ever had the upper hand) but that he was drawen on by the scoffes of Faonius, and Domitius, to hazard battell, to endaunger the whole Empire and liberty of Rome, only for feare they should call him king Agamemnon? Who. if he had so much regarded present infamie, he should have fought from the beginning for defence of the citie of Rome, and not to have taken example of Themistocles policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a shame as he did, to lye in Thessalie a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fieldes of Pharsalia for a Theater, or close campe, of necessitie to fight which of them shoulde have the Empire of Rome. Further, there was no Heraulde to summone him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must aunswere to his name, and come and fight, or else to loose the honor of the crowne unto an other. But there were infinite other fieldes and townes (and as a man woulde say the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by sea gave him choyse to conquer if he would rather have followed the steppes of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucullus, or of Agesilaus him selfe: who did paciently abide

Digitized by Google

no lesse tumultes within the citie selfe of Sparta, when the Thebans went to summone him to come out to fight, for all the rest of his contrie. And in Ægypt also, he did abide many false accusations against him, wherewith the king him selfe did burden him, praying him alwayes to have a litle pacience. In fine, having followed the best counsell which he had determined with him selfe from the beginning, he saved the Ægyptians against their willes: and furthermore, he did not only keepe the citie of Sparta from so great a daunger, but did also set up tokens of triumphe in the same against the Thebans, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the slaughter, and besides that, gave his citizens occasion to obtaine victorie afterwardes. Hereupon Agesilaus was highly praised of them, whose lives he had saved against their wills. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by them selves, through whom he had offended: yet some say, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio. For he meaning to keepe the most parte of the money to him selfe which he had brought out of Asia, did hasten and perswade Pompey to geve battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthie Captaine should not so lightly have bene brought into error, upon a false accompt, to hazard him selfe to loose all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their jorneys into Ægypt, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with small honor, for moneys sake to serve the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the Græcians. Lastly, in that which we accuse the Ægyptians for Pompeys sake: for the like matter doe they againe accuse Agesilaus. For, the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he trusted: and Agesilaus forsooke them which trusted him, and went to the enemies, having brought aide to fight against them.

Agesilaus constanter than Pompey.

Pompeys flying into Ægypt is excused.

THE END OF POMPEYS LIFE

Digitized by Google

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

AVING determined in this volume to write the life of king Alexander, and of Iulius Cæsar, that overcame Pompey: having to speake of many things, I will use none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare al things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but only lives. For, the noblest deedes doe not alwayes shew mens vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sporte makes mens naturall dispositions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous battells wonne, wherein are slaine tenne thowsande men, or the great armies, or cities wonne by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no accompt of other partes of the bodie, do take the resemblaunces of the face and favor of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgement of their maners and disposition: even so they must geve us leave to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby shewe the life of either of them, referring you unto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great thinges they did. It is certaine that Alexander was discended from Hercules by Caranus, and that of his mothers side, he came of the blood of the Æacides by Neoptolemus. They say also, that king Philip his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a younge maiden, and an orphane without father or mother, in the Ile of Samothracia, where they were both received into the misterie and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother Arymbas, with whose consent they were

The face sheweth mens maners and condicions.

The parentage of Alexander.

Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Digitized by Google

maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about into divers flames. King Philip her husband also, shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did seale his wives belly, and that the seale wherewith he sealed, left behinde the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wisards and sooth-sayers, tolde Philip that this dreame gave him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But Aristander Telmesian aunswered againe, that it signified his wife was conceived with childe, for that they doe not seale a vessel that hath nothinge in it: and that she was with childe with a boy, which shoulde have a Lions hart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay a sleepe in her bed, there was seene a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrewe Philips love and kindnes from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to doe: either for that he feared some charme or enchauntment, or else for that he thought him selfe unmeete for her company, supposing her to be beloved of some god. Some do also report this after an other sort: as in this maner. That the women in those parts of long time, have bene commonly possest with the spirite of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Clodones, and Mimallones (as much as warlicke, and fierce) and doe many things like unto the women of Edonia, and Thracia, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (signifying in the Greeke tongue, too superstitiously geven to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For Olympias above other women, loving to be inspired with such divine madnes and fury: did celebrate their solemne sacrifices with a certaine horrible and barbarous maner. For in these daunces to Bacchus, she caried a great number of tame snakes about her, the which gliding apon the Ivie wherewith the women were dressed in those ceremonies, and winding them selves about the litle javelings they had in their hands, and the garlands about their heades: therby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon Philip after this dreame,

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Olympias dreame.

King Philips dreame.

Olympias serpent.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

sent Chæro Megalopolitan unto the oracle of Apollo at Delphes, to inquier what it signified. Answere was geven him, that he should do sacrifice unto Iupiter Hammon, and honor him above all gods: and that he had lost one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, saw the god in forme of a snake lye by his wife. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratosthenes writeth) bidding her sonne farewel when he went to conquer Asia, after she had secretly tolde him alone, by whom he was begotten: she prayed him to be valliant, and to shew himselfe worthy his sonne, that begat him. Others tel also, that she was angry with this report, saying: Will Alexander never leave to make me suspected of Iuno? So it is, that Alexander was borne on the sixt day of the moneth of Hecatombæon, (in English, Iune) which the Macedonians call Lous. On the very same day, the temple of Diana in the city of Ephesus was burnt, as Hegesias Magnesian doth witnesse, whose crie and exclamation was so terrible and cold, that it was enough to have quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that Diana suffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, busie about Alexanders birth. But this is true, that all the priests, magitians and soothsayers, which were at that time in Ephesus, judging that this did prognosticate some marvelous great misfortune to come, like men bestraught of their wits, they ran up and downe the city, smiting of their faces, and crying that some great plague and mischief was borne that day unto Asia. Shortly after that king Philip had wonne the city of Potidæa, three messengers came to him the same day that brought him great newes. The first, that Parmenio had wonne a notable battell of the Illyrians: the second, that his horse only wan the bell and price at the Olympian games: and the third, that his wife had brought him a sonne called Alexander. Philip being marvelous glad to heare these newes, the soothsayers did make his joy yet greater: assuring him that his sonne which was borne with three victories all together, should be invincible. Now for his stature and personage, the statues and images made of him by Lysippus doe best declare it, for that he would be drawen of no man but

The birth of Alexander.

The temple of Diana burnt at Ephesus.

Wonderfull things seene at the birth of Alexander.

Alexanders stature and personage.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

him only. Divers of his successors and frends did afterwards counterfeat his image, but that excellent workeman Lysippus only, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawen and resembled Alexanders maner of holding his necke, somwhat hanging downe towards the left side, and also the swete looke and cast of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat blacke and swarter, then his face in deede was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour, mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his brest. I remember I red also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a marvelous good savor, and that his breath was very swete, insomuch that his body had so swete a smell of it selfe, that all the apparell he wore next unto his body, tooke thereof a passing delightfull savor, as if it had bene perfumed. And the cause hereof peradventure might be, the very temperature and constitucion of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of opinion, that the sweete savor commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth up the moisture of the bodie. By which reason also it appeareth, that the drie and hot contries pearched with heate of the sunne, are those that deliver unto us the best spices: bicause that the sunne drieth up the moysture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heate that Alexander had, made him (as it appeareth) to be given to drinke, and to be hasty. Even from his childhood they saw that he was given to be chast. For though otherwise he was very hot and hasty, yet was he hardly moved with lust or pleasure of the body, and would moderately use it. But on thother side, the ambition and desire he had of honor, shewed a certaine greatnes of minde and noble corage, passing his yeares. For he was not (as his father Philip) desirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delite to utter his eloquence, and stamped in his coynes, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games, by the swift running of his horse and coches. For when he was asked one day (bicause he was swift of foote) whether he would assay to run for

Alexanders body had a marvelous sweete savor.

Alexander coveted honor.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speake generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he utterly misliked all wrestling and other exercise for prise, where men did use all their strength: but otherwise he him self made certen festival daies and games of prise, for common stage plaiers, musitians, and singers, and for the very Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kinds of beastes, and playing at the staffe. Ambassadors being sent on a time from the king of Persia, whilest his father was in some jorney out of his realme: Alexander familliarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he used no childish questions unto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was from one place to an other, and which way they went into the high contries of Asia, and of the king of Persia him selfe, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had) that he did ravish them with delight to heare him, insomuch that they made no more account of Philips eloquence and sharpe wit, in respect of his sonnes corage, and noble minde, to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would say to his playfellowes: Sirs, my father will have all, I shall have nothing left me to conquer with you, that shall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valliantnes and honor, thought, that the greater conquests and realmes his father should leave him, the lesse he should have to do for himselfe. And therfore, seing that his fathers dominions and Empire increased dayly more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt: he desired no riches nor pleasure, but warres and battells, and aspired to a signory where he might win honor. He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him up: as schoolemasters, governors, and groomes of his chamber to attend upon him: and among those, Leonidas was the chiefest man that had the government and charge of him, a man of a severe disposition, and a kinseman also unto the

The noble minde of Alexander.

Leonidas the governor of Alexander.

Digitized by Google

Queene Olympias. He misliked to be called a master or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, whereupon the others called him Alexanders governor, bicause he was a noble man, and allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolemaster, was Lysimachus, an Acarnanian borne, who had no other maner of civility in him, saving that he called him selfe Phœnix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus: and therefore he was well thought of, and was the seconde person next unto Leonidas. At what time Philonicus Thessalian had brought Bucephal the horse to sell unto king Philip, asking thirteene talents, they went into the field to ryde him. The horse was found so rough and churlish that the ryders said he would never do service, for he would let no man get up on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king Philip, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, Philip being affrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beast, and altogether unprofitable: the which they had done, had not Alexander that stoode by said, O gods, what a horse do they turne away, for lacke of skil and hart to handle him. Philip heard what he said, but held his peace. Alexander oft repeating his wordes, seeming to be sory that they should send backe the horse againe: Why, said Philip, doest thou control them that have more experience than thou, and that know better than thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered, And yet me thinkes I should handle him better than all they have done. But if thou canst not, no more then they, replied Philip: what wilt thou forfet for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the horse. Every man laughed to heare his aunswere: and the wager was layed betwene them. Then ran Alexander to the horse, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the sunne. It seemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how madde the horse was to see his owne shadow, which was ever before him in his eye, as he sturred to and fro. Then Alexander speaking gently to the horse, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fury and snorting: softly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got up without any

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Bucephal Alexanders horse.

The agility of Alexander in taming the wildnes of Bucephal the horse.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

daunger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without striking or sturring the horse, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he sawe that the furie of the horse was past, and that he beganne to galloppe, he put him to his full career, and layed on spurres and voyce a good. Philip at the first with feare beholding his sonnes agility, least he should take some hurt, said never a word: but when he saw him redily turne the horse at the end of his career, in a bravery for that he had done, all the lookers on gave a showte for joy. The father on thother side (as they say) fell a weeping for joy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he sayd unto him kissing his head; O sonne, thou must needes have a realme that is meete for thee, for Macedon will not hold thee. Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extreamity, and that by gentle meanes and perswasion he could make him do what he would: he ever sought rather to perswade then commaund him in any thing he had to do. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolemasters of musicke and humanity, for the instruction and education of his sonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reach unto: and that as Sophocles sayth,

Philip prophecieth of his sonne Alexander.

He needed many reynes, and many bits at once:

Aristotle, was Alexanders schoolemaster.

Aristotle borne in the city of Stagira.

he sent for Aristotle (the greatest Philosopher in his time, and best learned) to teach his sonne, unto whom he gave honorable stipend. For Philip having won and taken before, the city of Stagyra, where Aristotle was borne: for his sake he built it againe, and replenished it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a schoole house and dwelling place, the pleasant house that is by the city of Mieza. In that place are yet seene seats of stone which Aristotle caused to be made, and close walks to walke in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not only learne of Aristotle, moral philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of him other more secret, hard, and grave doctrine, which Aristotles schollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

things speculative, which requireth the masters teaching to understand them, or els are kept from common knowledge: which sciences, they did not commonly teach. Alexander being passed into Asia, and hearing that Aristotle had put out certen bookes of that matter: for the honors sake of philosophy, he wrote a letter unto him, somwhat too plaine, and of this effect. Alexander, unto Aristotle greeting: Thou hast not done well to put forth the Acroamatical sciences. For wherin shal we excell other, if those things which thou hast secretly taught us, be made common to all? I do thee to understand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewel. Wherunto Aristotle to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote unto him againe, that these bookes were published, and not published. For to say truly, in al his treatises which be called *μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ*: there is no plain instruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himselfe, nor yet to be taught by any other, then Aristotle him selfe, or his schollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for them that have bene entred and brought up in the Peripateticke sect and doctrine. It seemeth also, that it was Aristotle above all other, that made Alexander take delight to study phisick. For Alexander did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but would exercise practise also, and help his frends when they were sicke: and made besides certaine remedies, and rules to live by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much geven to his booke, and desired to read much. He learned also the *Iliades* of Homer, of Aristotles correction, which they call *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος* the corrected, as having passed under the rule: and laid it every night under his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as Onesicrates writeth) the institution of martiall discipline. And when he was in the high contries of Asia, where he coulde not readily come by other bookes, he wrote unto Harpalus to send them to him. Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistus, with divers tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus: and certaine hymnes of Telestus and Philoxenus. Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first, as his father, and so he tearmed him: bicause from his

An Epistle of Alexander unto Aristotle.

Alexander the great practised phisicke.

Some thinke that this place should be ment of the riche coffer, that was found among king Darius juells, in the which Alexander would have all Homers works kept.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live. But afterwardes he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so frendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to doe. This notwithstanding, he left not that zeale and desire he had to the studie of Philosophie, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed divers testimonies thereof. As, the honor he did unto Anaxarchus the Philosopher. The fiftie talentes which he sent unto Xenocrates, Dandamis, and Calanus: of whome he made great account. When king Philip made warre with the Bizantines, Alexander being but sixteene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenaunt in Macedon, with the custodie and charge of his great seale: at what time he also subdued the Medarians which had rebelled against him, and having wonne their citie by assault, he drave out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it of sundrie nations, and called it Alexandropolis, to say, the citie of Alexander. He was with his father at the battell of Chæronea against the Græcians, where it was reported, that it was he that gave charge first of all apon the holie bande of the Thebans. Furthermore, there was an old oke seene in my time, which the contry men commonly call Alexanders oke, bicause his tent or pavillion was fastned to it: and not farre from thence is the charnell house, where those Macedonians were buried that were slaine at the battell. For these causes, his father Philip loved him very deerely, and was glad to heare the Macedonians call Alexander king, and him selfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reason of Philippes new mariages and loves, bred great quarrell and strife amongest the women: for the mischiefe of dissention and gealozy of women, doth separate the harts of kings one from an other, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpenes of Olympias, who being a gealous woman, fretting, and of a revenging minde, did incense Alexander against his father. But the chiefest cause that provoked Alexander, was Attalus at the mariage of Cleopatra, whom Philip maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when him

Alexanders first souldierfare.

The city of Alexandropolis.

The quarrells of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

selfe was past mariage. This was the matter: Attalus being uncle unto this Cleopatra, fell droncke at the mariage, and having in his cuppes, he perswaded the Macedonians that were at the feast, to pray to the goddes, that they might have a lawfull heire of Philippe and Cleopatra, to succeede him in the kingdome of Macedon. Alexander being in a rage therewith threwe a cuppe at his head, and sayd unto him: Why, traytor, what am I: dost thou take me for a bastard? Philip seeing that, rose from the bourd, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the grounde. Then Alexander mockinge him, Loe, sayd he, to the Macedonians, here is the man that prepared to go out of Europe into Asia, and stepping onely from one bedde to an other, ye see him layed alongest on the ground. After this great insolency, he tooke his mother Olympias away with him, and carying her into his contrie of Epirus, he left her there, and him selfe afterwards went into Illyria. In the meane time, Demartus Corinthian, a frend of king Philippes, and very familliar with him, came to see him. Philip when he had curteously welcommed him, asked him howe the Græcians did agree together. Truely, O king, quod he, it importes you much to inquier of the agreement of the Græcians, when your owne court is so full of quarrell and contencion. These words nipped Philip in such sorte, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demaratus meanes, whom he sent to perswade Alexander to returne, Alexander was made to come backe againe. Now when Pexodorus, a Prince of Caria (desiring for necessities sake, to enter in league and frendship with Philip) offred his eldest daughter in mariage unto Aridæus king Philips sonne, and had sent Aristocritus Ambassador into Macedon for that purpose: the frends of Alexander and his mother, began againe to inveigle him with new reports and suspicions, how Philip by this great mariage would advaunce Aridæus to his utter undoing, and leave him his heire in the kingdom. Alexander being nettled therwith sent one Thessalus a plaier of tragedies into Caria to Pexodorus: to perswade him to leave Aridæus, that was a bastard and a foole, and rather to make alliance with

Alexander mocketh Philip his father.

Aridæus king Philippes bastard, begotten of a common strumpet, Philima.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander. This offer pleased Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his sonne in law, than Aridæus. Philip understanding this, went himself into Alexanders chamber, taking Philotas with him (the sonne of Parmenio)one of his familliars, and bitterly tooke up Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, and was unworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would cast himselfe away, marying the daughter of a Carian, that was a slave and subject of a barbarous king. Therupon he wrote letters unto Corinth, that they should send Thessalus bound unto him. And furthermore, he banished out of Macedon, Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolomy, his sonnes companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home againe, and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, Pausanias susteining villany by the counsell and commaundement of Attalus and Cleopatra, craving Iustice of Philip, and finding no amends: he converted all his anger against him, and for spight slue him him selfe. Of this murther, most men accused Quene Olympias, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not cleare from suspition of this murther. For some say, that Pausanias after this villanie was done him, complained unto Alexander, and told him how he had bene abused: who recited these verses to him of Euripides, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where she said in anger, that she would be revenged:

Philip king of Macedon, slaine by Pausanias.

> Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
> And of the father in lawe.

Notwithstanding, afterwardes he caused diligent searche to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angrie also that his mother Olympias had cruelly slaine Cleopatra. So he came to be king of Macedon at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly envyed and hated of daungerous enemies, and every way full of daunger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbours unto Macedon, could not abide the bondage of straungers, but desired to have their naturall kinges. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and

The beginning of Alexanders raigne.

Digitized by Google

pacifie Græce, which he had conquered by force of armes: but having a litle altered the governmentes, had through his insolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene aquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders counsell of Macedon, being affraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should utterly forsake the affaires of Græce, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he should seeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new sturres. But he farre otherwise determined to stablish his safety by corage and magnanimitie: perswading him selfe, that if they saw him stowpe and yeeld at the beginning, how litle so ever it were, every one would be apon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, invading them sodainely with his armie, by the river of Danuby, where in a great battell he overthrew Syrmus, king of the Triballians. Furthermore, having intelligence that the Thebans were revolted, and that the Athenians also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towardes the streight of Thermopiles, saying that he would make Demosthenes the Orator see (who in his orations, while he was in Illyria, and in the contry of the Triballians, called him child) that he was growen a stripling passing through Thessaly, and should finde him a man before the walles of Athens. When he came with his armie unto the gates of Thebes, he was willing to geve them of the citie occasion to repent them: and therefore onely demaunded Phœnix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trompet, pardon and safetie unto all them that would yeld unto him. The Thebans on thother side, demaunded of him Philotas, and Antipater, two of his chiefest servauntes, and made the crier proclaime in the citie, that all such as would defend the libertie of Græce, should joyne with them. Then did Alexander leave the Macedonians at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the Thebans fought with greater corage and desire then they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on thother side also,

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander overcame Syrmus king of the Triballians.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

when the garrison of the Macedonians which were within the castell of Cadmia, made a salie upon them, and gave them charge in the rereward: then they being environned of all sides, were slaine in maner every one of them, their citie taken, destroyed, and rased even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of Græce afraid by example of this great calamitie and miserie of the Thebans, to thend none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloke this crueltie of his under the complaintes of his confederates, the Phocians and Plateians: who complaining to him of the injuries the Thebans had offred, could not denie them justice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were frendes unto any of the Lords of Macedon, all the frendes and kinsmen of the poet Pindarus, and all those that had disswaded them which were the rebells: he sold all the rest of the citie of Thebes for slaves, which amounted to the nomber of thirtie thowsand persones, besides them that were slaine at the battell, which were six thowsand moe. Now amongest the other miseries and calamities of the poore citie of Thebes, there were certaine Thracian souldiers, who having spoyled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they devided her goods among them: and their captaine having ravished her by force, asked her, whether she had any where hidden any gold or silver. The ladie told him, she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brought him unto a well: where she said she had cast all her juells and precious things, when she heard the citie was taken. The barbarous Thracian stouped to looke into the well: she standing behind him, thrust him in, and then threw stones enow on him, and so killed him. The souldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and so caried her unto Alexander. When Alexander saw her countenance, and marked her gate: he supposed her at the first to be some great lady, she followed the souldiers with such a majestie and boldnes. Alexander then asking her what she was: She aunswered, that she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battell with king Philip before the citie of

Thebes won and rased by Alexander.

A noble acte of Timoclea, a noble woman of Thebes.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Chæronea, where being generall he was slaine, valiantly fighting for the defense of the libertie of Græce. Alexander wondering at her noble aunswere and couragious deede, commaunded no man shoud touche her nor her children, and so freely let her goe whether she would. He made league also with the Athenians, though they were very sory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne feast of their misteries being come, they left it of, mourning for the Thebans: courteously enterteining all those, that flying from Thebes came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of lyons: or bycause that after so great an example of crueltie, he would shew a singuler clemency againe: he did not only pardon the Athenians of all faults committed, but did also counsell them to looke wisely to their doings, for their citie one daie should commaund all Græce, if he chaunced to die. Men report, that certenly he oftentimes repented him that he had delt so cruelly with the Thebans, and the griefe he tooke apon it was cause that he afterwardes shewed him selfe more mercifull unto divers others. Afterwardes also he did blame the furie of Bacchus, who to be revenged of him, made him kill Clitus at the table being droncke, and the Macedonians also to refuse him to goe any further to conquer the Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of his honor. Besides, there was never Theban afterwardes, that had escaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any peticion to him, but he had his sute. Thus was the state of Thebes as you have heard. Then the Græcians having assembled a generall counsell of all the states of Græce within the straights of Peloponnesus: there it was determined that they would make warre with the Persians. Whereupon they chose Alexander generall for all Græce. Then divers men comming to visite Alexander, aswell philosophers, as governors of states, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinth) would likewise come as the rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbes of Corinthe, at a place called Cranium, he went him selfe unto him, and found him

Alexander chosen generall of all Græce.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexanders talke with Diogenes.

layed all a long in the sunne. When Diogenes saw so many comming towardes him, he sate up a litle, and looked full apon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake unto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thinge. Yea said he, that I do: that thou stand out of my sunne a litle. Alexander was so well pleased with this aunswere, and marvelled so much at the great boldnes of this man, to se how small account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, Alexanders familliers laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them: Masters say what you lyst, truely if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being desirous to heare what the oracle of Apollo Delphian would say unto him touching the successe of his jorney into Asia: he went unto the citie of Delphes. It chaunced so, that he came thither in the dayes which they call unfortunate, on which dayes no man used to aske Apollo any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first unto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles, to pray her to come to him. But she refused to come, alleaging the custome which forbad her to goe. Thereupon, Alexander went thither him selfe in person, and brought her out by force into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denyed, but would needs have his will: told him, My sonne, for that I see, thou art invincible. Alexander hearing that, saied he desired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwardes when he was even ready to go on with his voyage, he had divers signes and tokens from the gods: and amongest other, an image of the Poet Orpheus made of cyprus, in the citie of Lebethres, in those dayes did sweate marvelously. Many men fearing that signe, Aristander the soothsayer bad Alexander be of good cheere, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the Poets and musicians sweate to write and singe them. Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that doe set downe the least nomber, say that they were thirtie thowsand footemen, and five thowsand horsemen: and they that say more, doe write, foure and thirtie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen. Aristobulus writeth, that Alexander

Wonderfull signes appearing unto Alexander before his journey into Asia.

Alexanders armie into Asia.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

had no more but three score and tenne talents to paie his souldiers with: and Duris writeth, that he had no more provision of vittells, then for thirtie dayes onely. And Onesicritus sayeth moreover, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he beganne this warre with so small ability to mainteine it, he would never take shippe before he understood the state of his frendes, to know what abilitie they had to goe with him, and before he had geven unto some, landes, and unto other, a towne, and to others againe, the custome of some haven. Thus by his bountie having in maner spent almost the revenues of the crowne of Macedon, Perdiccas asked him: My Lord, what will you kepe for your selfe? Hope, sayd he. Then, quoth Perdiccas againe, we will also have some parte, since we goe with you: and so refused the revenue which the king had geven him for his pencion. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he gave them very franckly, and in such liberallitie spent all the revenue he had. With this desier and determination, he went on to the straight of Hellespont, and going to the citie of Ilium, he did sacrifice unto Diana, and made funerall effusions unto the demy goddes (to wit, unto the princes which died in the warre of Troia, whose bodies were buried there) and specially unto Achilles, whose grave he annointed with oyle, and ranne naked round about it with his familliers, according to the auncient custome of funeralls. Then he covered it with nosegayes and flowers, saying, that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithfull frend, and after his death an excellent herauld to singe his praise. When he had done, and went up and downe the citie to see all the monumentes and notable thinges there: one asked him, if he would see Paris harpe. He aunswered againe, he would very faine see Achilles harpe, who played and sunge apon it all the famous actes done by valliant men in former times. In the meane time, Darius king of Persia, having leavied a great armie, sent his captaines and leuetenants to tary Alexander at the river of Granicus. There was Alexander to fight of necessitie, being the onely barre to stoppe his entrie into Asia. Moreover,

The liberalitie of Alexander.

Alexanders saying of Achilles.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

the captaines of his counsell about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the bancke on thother side, which was verie hie and steepe, and could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should have speciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: bycause the kings of Macedon did never use to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that, said Alexander, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisium, which is Maye. Furthermore Parmenio was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, bycause it was very late. Alexander made aunswere againe, that Hellespont would blush for shame, if he were now affraid to passe over the river, since he had already commen over an arme of the sea. Thereupon he him selfe first entred the river with thirteene guidons of horsemen, and marched forwardes against an infinite nomber of arrowes which the enemies shot at him, as he was comming up the other bancke, which was very highe and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receive him in battell raye, thrusting his men downe into the river, which was very deepe, and ranne so swifte, that it almost caried them downe the streame: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to leade his men with such daunger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needes over, and in thend with great a doe recovered the other side, specially bycause the earth slidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pel mel one upon an other, bycause his enemies did set upon the first that were passed over, before they could put them selves into battell raye, with great cryes, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their dartes, and afterwardes came to the sworde when their dartes were broken. Then many of them set upon him alone, for he was easely to be knowen above the rest by his shield and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hong from thone side to thother, a marvelous faier white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Roesaces and Spithridates, both two chiefe captaines of the Persians,

Battell betwixt Alexander and Darius at the river of Granicus.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

setting apon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Roesaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him such a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soone as they two had closed together, Spithridates comming at toe side of him, raised him selfe upon his stirroppes and gave Alexander with all his might such a blow of his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creast of his helmet, and one of the sides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very heare of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike Alexander againe, great Clitus preventing him, thrust him through with a partisan, and at the very same instant, Roesaces also fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his sword. Now whilest the horsemen fought with such furie, the squadron of the battell of footemen of the Macedonians had passed the river, and both the battells beganne to march one against the other. The Persians stucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backes and fled, saving the Grœcians which tooke paie of king Darius: they drew together upon a hill, and craved mercy of Alexander. But Alexander setting upon them, more of will then discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the flancke with a sword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongest them valliantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slaine at this first battell, twenty thowsand footemen of these barbarous people, and two thowsand five hundred horsemen. Of Alexanders side, Aristobulus writeth, that there were slaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelve of them were footemen. Alexander to honor their valliantnes, caused every one of their images to be made in brasse by Lysippus. And bycause he would make the Grœcians partakers of this victorie, he sent unto the Athenians three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally upon all the other spoiles, he put this honorable inscription: 'Alexander the sonne of Philip, and the Grœcians, excepting

Clitus saved Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Persians at Granicus.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

'the Lacedæmonians, have wonne this spoile apon the barbarous Asians.' As for plate of gold or silver, also purple silkes, or other such precious ware which he gat among the Persians: he sent them all unto his mother, a few except. This first victorie of Alexander, brought such a sodaine chaunge amongest the barbarous people in Alexanders behalfe, that the citie selfe of Sardis, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the lowe contries and coastes apon the sea, they yeelded straight unto him, saving the cities of Halicarnassus and Miletum, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he tooke them by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in dout afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a marvelous desire, whotly to follow Darius wheresoever he were, and to venter all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better first to occupy himselfe in conquering of these low contries, and to make him selfe strong with the money and riches he should finde among them, that he might afterwardes be the better able to follow him. In the contrie of Lydia neere unto the citie Xanthum, they say there is a springe that brake of it selfe, and overflowing the banckes about it, cast out a litle table of copper from the bottome, upon the which were graved certen carecters in olde letters, which said: that the kingdome of the Persians should be distroyed by the Græcians. This did further so encorage Alexander, that he made hast to cleere all the sea coast, even as farre as Cilicia and Phœnicia. But the wonderfull good successe he had, runninge alongest all the coast of Pamphilia, gave divers historiographers occasion to set forth his doinges with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furie of the sea, which unto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would swell over the toppes of the highe rockes upon the cliffes, fell calme unto him. And it appeareth that Menander him selfe in a comedie of his doth witnesse this wonderfull happynes of Alexander, when merily he sayeth:

O great Alexander, how great is thy state!
For thou with thy selfe mayst thus justly debate.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

If any man lyving I list for too call,
He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the sourges my jorney doe lye,
The waves give me way, and the Sea becomes drye.

Yet Alexander him selfe simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke shippe in the citie of Phaselides. There he remained many dayes, and when he saw the image of Theodectes Phaselitan, standing in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one evening after supper, and cast flowers and garlandes apon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it seemed but in sporte, for that he was his companion when he lyved, by meanes of Aristotle and his philosophie. After that he overcame also the Pisidians, who thought to have resisted him, and conquered all Phrygia besides. There in the citie of Gordius, which is said to be the auncient seate of king Midas: he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a trothe, of the barbarous people, that they beleved it as a prophecy: that whosoever could undoe the bande of that barcke, was certenly ordeyned to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proving to undoe that bande, and finding no endes to undoe it by, they were so many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the middest. So that then many endes appeared. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had quickly undone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and so severed them a soonder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to goe on with his determination to leade his army into the highe contries of Asia. Then did king Darius him selfe come against Alexander, having leavied a great power at Susa, of six hundred thowsand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wisards

The memorie of Theodectes honored by Alexander.

The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.

Darius armie and dreame.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he saw all the armie of the Macedonians on a fire, and Alexander serving of him in the selfe same attier that he him selfe wore when he was one of the chamber unto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of Belus, he sodainely vanished from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did signifie unto him, that the Macedonians should have noble successe in their doinges, and that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even as king Darius had done, when he was but Asgandes unto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honor. This furthermore made him bolde also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in Cilicia, supposing it had bene for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknes he had, the which some say he got, by extreame paines and travell, and others also, bycause he washed him selfe in the river of Cydnus, which was cold as Ise. Howsoever it came, there was none of the other phisitians that durst undertake to cure him, thinking his disease uncurable, and no medicines to prevaile that they could give him, and fearing also that the Macedonians would laie it to their charge, if Alexander miscaried. But Philip Acarnanian, considering his master was very ill, and bearing him selfe of his love and good will towardes him, thought he shoulde not doe that became him, if he did not prove (seeing him in extremitie and daunger of life) the utmost remedies of phisicke, what daunger so ever he put him selfe into: and therefore tooke apon him to minister phisicke unto Alexander, and perswaded him to drincke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and goe to the warres. In the meane time, Parmenio wrote him a letter from the campe, advertising him, that he should beware of Philip his phisitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches, that he would geve him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his master. Alexander when he had redde this letter, layed it under his beddes head, and made none of his neerest familliers acquainted therewith. When the hower came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other

Alexanders sicknesse in Cilicia.

Cydnus fl.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

of the kings familliers, and brought a cup in his hand with the pocion he should drinke. Alexander then gave him the letter, and withall, cheerefully tooke the cup of him, shewing no maner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the sight, how one reading the letter, and thother drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one apon another, howbeit not both with like cheerefull countenaunce. For Alexander looked merily apon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his phisitian Philip, and how much he loved him: and the phisitian also beheld Alexander, like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falsly accused, and straight lift up his handes to heaven, calling the goddes to witnesse that he was innocent, and then came to Alexanders bed side, and prayed him to be of good cheere, and boldly to doe as he would advise him. The medicine beginning to worke, overcame the disease, and drave for the time, to the lowest partes of his body, all his naturall strength and powers: in somuch as his speach failed him, and he fell into such a weaknes, and almost sooning, that his pulse did scant beate, and his sences were welneere taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few dayes recovered him againe. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed him selfe openly unto the Macedonians: for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health, untill they had seene him. In king Darius campe, there was one Amyntas a Macedonian, and banisht out of his contrie, who knew Alexanders disposition very well. He finding that Darius ment to meete with Alexander within the straightes and vallies of the mountaines: besought him to tarie rather where he was, being a plaine open contrie round about him, considering that he had a great hoste of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meete with him in the open field. Darius aunswered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. Amyntas replied, For that, O king, I praie you feare not: for I warrant you apon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. All these perswasions of Amyntas could not turne Darius from making his campe to marche towardes

The wonderfull trust of Alexander in his phisitian.

Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counsell.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Cilicia. At the selfe same time also, Alexander went towardes Syria to meete with him. But it chaunced one night, that the one of them missed of the other, and when day was come, they both retorned backe againe: Alexander being glad of this happe, and making hast to meete with his enemy within the straights. Darius also seeking to winne Alexanders lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the straites: beganne then to find the fault and error committed, for that he had shut him selfe up in the straights, (holden in on the one side with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the river of Pindarus that ranne betwene both) and that he was driven to disperse his armie into divers companies, in a stonie and ill favored contrie, ill for horsemen to travell, being on the contrarie side a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in nomber. But now, as fortune gave Alexander the field as he would wishe it to fight for his advantage: so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battell raye to winne the victorie. For albeit that Alexander had the lesse nomber by many then his enemie, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be environned: For he did put out the right winge of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left winge, and fighting him selfe in the left winge in the foremost ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that stood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thighe with a blow of a sword. Chares writeth, that Darius selfe did hurte him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding Alexander selfe writing of this battell unto Antipater sayeth, that in deede he was hurte on the thighe with a sword, howbeit it did put him in no daunger: but he writeth not that Darius did hurte him. Thus having wonne a famous victory, and slaine above a hundred and tenne thowsand of his enemies, he could not yet take Darius, bycause he fled, having still foure or five forlonges vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he retorned from the chase, and found the Macedonians sacking and spoiling all the rest of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was

Battell betwext Alexander and Darius in Cilicia.

Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

infinite riches (although they had left the most parte of their cariage behind them in the citie of Damas, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reserved for him selfe all king Darius tent, which was full of a great nomber of officers, of riche moveables, and of gold and silver. So, when he was come to the campe, putting of his armor, he entred into the bathe and sayed: come on, lette us goe and washe of the sweate of the battell in Darius owne bathe. Naye, replyed one of his familliers againe, in Alexanders bathe: for the goodes of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathe, and sawe the basons and yewers, the boxes, and vyolles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetely, that it was like a parradise: then going out of his bathe, and comming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him unto his familliers and said: This was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing unto him amongest other Ladies taken prisoners, king Darius mother and his wife, and two of his daughters unmaried: who having seene his chariot and bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them selves thinking Darius had bene slaine. Alexander pawsed a good while and gave no aunswere, pittying more their misfortune, then rejoycing at his owne goodhappe. Then he presently sent one Leonatus unto them, to let them understand, that Darius was a live, and that they should not neede to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his kingdome only: and as for them, that they should have at his handes all that they had of Darius before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captive Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemencie to be no lesse. For first he suffred them to burie as many of the Persian Lordes as they would, even of them that had bene slaine in the battell, and to take as much silkes of the spoiles, juells, and ornamentes, as they thought good to honor their funeralles with: and also did lessen no parte of

Darius mother, wife, and two daughters, taken by Alexander.

The clemency of Alexander unto the captive Ladies.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

their honor, nor of the nomber of their officers and servauntes, nor of any jotte of their estate which they had before, but did allowe them also greater pencions, then they had before. But above all, the princelyest grace, and most noble favor that Alexander shewed unto these captive princesses, which had alwayes lived in honorable fame and chastitie, was this: That they never heard worde, or so much as any suspition that should make them afrayed to be dishonored or deflowered: but were privately among them selves unvisited or repayred unto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close monasterie: although Darius wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as Darius also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to overcome his enemies: did neither touche them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maried them, Barsine onely excepted, who being left Memnons widow (generall of kinge Darius by sea) was taken by the citie of Damas. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good enterteinment (being the daughter of Artabazus, who came of a kinges daughter) Alexander was bolde with her by Parmenioes procurement, (as Aristobulus writeth) who intised him to embrace the companie of so excellent a woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies besides which were prisoners, what goodly faire women they were: he spake it pleasauntly, that the Ladies of Persia made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beautie of his continencie, before their sweete faire faces: he passed by without any sparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, Philoxenus whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the lowe contries apon the sea coast, wrote unto him on a time, that one Theodorus a marchaunt of Tarentum, had to sell two goodly young boies, marvelous faire: and therefore that he sent unto him to knowe his pleasure, if he would bye them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he

The chastitie of Alexander.

Alexanders pleasant speech of womens beautie.

Digitized by Google

cried out alowde: O, my frendes, what villany hath ever Philoxenus seene in me, that he should devise (having nothing to doe there) to purchace me such infamie? whereuppon he wrote unto him from the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile Tarentin marchaunt Theodorus and his marchaundise to the Devill. He sharpely punished also one Agnon, that wrote unto him he would bye a young boye called Crobylus (who for beautie bare the onely name in Corinthe,) and bring him to him. An other time also, when he heard that Damon and Timotheus Macedonians, under Parmenioes charge, had deflowred two of the souldiers wives that were straungers, and waged of him: he wrote unto Parmenio to looke unto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them giltie of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as brute beastes borne to destroie mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus of him selfe: For my selfe, said he, I have neither seene, nor desired to see Darius wife: neither have I suffred any speach of her beawtie before me. Moreover he saied, that he did understand that he was mortall by these two thinges: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weakenes of our nature proceedeth sleepe and sensualitie. He was also no greedy gutte, but temperate in eating, as he shewed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he saide unto the princesse Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of Caria. For when (for the love she bare him) she daily sent him sundrie delicate dishes of meate, tartes, and marchpaines, and besides the meate it selfe, the pastlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he aunswered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for he had better cookes than those appointed him by his governour Leonidas, to witte: for his diner, to rise before daye, and to marche by night: and for his supper, to eate litle at diner. And my governour, said he, would oftentimes open the chestes where my bedding and apparell lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Furthermore, he was lesse geven to wine, then men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, bycause he sate longe at the bourde, rather

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander temperate in eating.

How Leonidas brought up Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

to talke then drinke. For ever when he dranke, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leysure. For having matters to doe, there was neither feaste, bancket, plaie, mariage, nor any pastime that could staie him: as they had done other captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the shortenes of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he did, in that litle time he lived. When he had leysure, after he was up in the morning, first of all he would doe sacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, passing awaie all the rest of the daye, in hunting, writing some thinge, taking up some quarrell betwene souldiers, or els in studying. If he went any journey of no hastie busines, he would exercise him selfe by the waie as he went, shooting in his bowe, or learning to get up or out of his charret sodenly, as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunte the foxe, or ketche birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembraunces for everie daie. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and nointe him selfe: and would aske his pantelers and carvers if his supper were ready. He would ever suppe late, and was very curious to see, that every man at his bourde were a like served, and would sit longe at the table, bycause he ever loved to talke, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite apon, and as pleasaunt, as any king that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comelines to adorne a prince, saving that he would be something over busie in glorying in his owne deedes, much like unto a bragging souldier: neither was he contented him selfe to please his owne humour that waie, but would also suffer his familliers to soothe him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst saye lesse of the praises which they gave him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in daunger. After supper, he would washe him selfe againe, and sleepe untill noone the next daye following, and oftentimes all daye longe. For him selfe, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes: for when any did send him rare frutes, or fishe, from the contries

Alexanders life when he was at leisure.

Alexander a pleasant prince as any could be.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

neere the sea side, he would send them abroad unto his frendes, and seldom kepe any thinge for him selfe. His table notwithstanding was alwayes very honorably served, and did still increace his fare, as he did enlarge his conquestes: till it came to the summe of tenne thowsand drachmas a daye. But there he stayed, and would not exceede that summe, and moreover commaunded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend above that summe. After this battell of Issus, he sent unto the citie of Damas, to take all the gold and silver, the cariage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of armes of the Thessalians spedde them full well. For therefore did he send them thither, bycause he sawe that they had fought valliantly at the daye of the battell: and so were the reste of his armie also well stored with money. There the Macedonians having tasted first of the golde, silver, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by cent doe follow the tracke of beastes, even so were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the Persians. First Alexander thought it best to winne all the sea coaste. Thether came the kinges of Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and delivered up to him the whole Iland and all Phœnicia, saving onely the citie of Tyre. That citie he beseeged seven moneths together by lande, with great bulwarkes and divers engines of batterie, and by sea, with two hundred gallies. During this sege, Alexander dreamed one night, that Hercules held out his hand unto him over the walles of the citie, and called him by his name: and there were divers Tyrians also that dreamed in likewise, that Apollo told them that he would goe unto Alexander, bycause he was not pleased with their doinges in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bignes) with grat chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitour that would have yeelded him selfe unto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as favoring Alexander. Alexander had there also an other dreame. For he dreamed that he sawe a Satyre a farre of sporting with him, and when he thought to have commen neere to have taken him, he still escaped from him: untill at the

Alexander beseegeth the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders dreame at the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders second dreame againe at Tyre.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

length, after he had ronne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his handes. The soothesayers being asked what this dreame should signifie, aunswered probably, by deviding Satyros into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which signifieth, the citie of Tyre shalbe thine. And they doe yet show unto this daie, the fountaine where Alexander thought he saw the Satyre. Continuing this seege, he went to make warre with the Arabians, that dwell apon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being cast away, onely bycause he heard his tutor Lysimachus that followed him, saye bostingly, that he was not inferior, nor older than the Phœnix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went up a foote: and Alexander was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leave his tutor Lysimachus behind him (who was so wery that he could goe no further) but bycause it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encorage his tutor, and in maner to carie him. By this meanes, unwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men abou t him, and benighted besides: moreover it was very colde, and the waie was very ill. At the length, perceyving divers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in an other, trusting to his valliantnes, having alwayes provided remedie in extremitie, when the Macedonians were distressed, him selfe ever putting to his owne hand: he ranne unto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that laye by the fire side, he snatched awaye a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so affraid, that they ranne their waye as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and sette uppon him, he slue them every man, and so laye there that night, him selfe and his men without daunger. Thus Chares reporteth this matter. Now for the seege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most parte of his armie to take rest, being overharried and wearyed with so many battelles as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to geve assault unto the citie, to kepe the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One

Alexanders jorney against the Arabians.

Antiliban mons.

The corage and agilitie of Alexander.

Digitized by Google

daye the soothesayer Aristander sacrifycing unto the goddes, having considered of the signes of the intralles of the beastes: did assure them that were present, that the citie should be taken by the later ende of the moneth. Every bodie laughed to heare him: for that daye was the very last daye of the moneth. Alexander seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to saie to it, seeking ever to bringe those tokens to effect, which the soothesayers did prognosticate: commaunded them that they should not reckon that daye the thirtie day, but the seven and twentie, and immediatly upon it, made the trompet sounde the allarme, and geve a hotter assault to the walle, then he had thought to have done before. They fought valliantly on both sides, in so much as they that were left in the campe, could not kepe in, but must needs runne to thassault to helpe their companions. The Tyrians seeing thassault so hot on every side, their hartes began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the selfe same day. An other time also, when Alexander was before Gaza, the chiefe citie of Syria, there fell a clodde of earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there flewe a birde into the ayer. The birde lightinge apon one of the engines of his battrie, was cought with the nettes made of sinewes which covered over the ropes of the engines. Aristander did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the towne. And in deede so it came to passe. When he sent great presentes of spoiles which he wanne at the sacke of this citie, unto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his frendes: among other thinges, he sent unto Leonidas his governor, five hundred talentes waight of frankensence, and a hundred talentes waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him into when he was a childe. For, as Alexander was upon a daye sacrifycing unto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his governor Leonidas saw him, he saied thus unto him: When thou hast conquered the contrie where these sweete thinges grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, spare that litle thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to minde at that time

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The citie of Tyre beseged, and taken by Alexander.

Alexander tooke the citie of Gaza.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

his admonition, wrote unto him in this sorte: We do send thee plenty of frankensence and myrre, bicause thou shouldest no more be a niggard unto the goddes. There was brought unto him a litle coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thinge and the richest, that was gotten of all the spoiles and riches, taken at the overthrow of Darius. When he saw it, he asked his familliers that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thinge to be put into it. Some said one thinge, some said an other thinge: but he said, he would put the *Iliades* of Homer into it, as the worthiest thinge. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now if that which the Alexandrians report upon Heraclides wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did profitte him selfe much by Homer in this jorney. For it is reported

The building of the citie of Alexandria.

that when he had conquered Ægypt, he determined to builde a great citie, and to replenish it with a great nomber of Græcians, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certen ground, which he had chosen by thadvise of his enginers and workemasters: the night before

Alexanders dreame in Egypt.

he had a marvelous dreame, that he sawe an olde man standing before him, full of white heares, with an honorable presence, and comming towardes him said these verses:

> Within the foming sea there lyes a certein Iland, right
> Against the shore of Egypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.

The Ile of Pharos.

Assoone as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Ile of Pharos, the which at that time was a litle above the mouth of the river of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joyned unto firme lande, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broade enough, that seperateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on thother, the which doeth joyne hard to a great haven. Then he said that Homer was wonderfull in all his thinges, but that amongest others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall,

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

wherefore they were driven to take meale, and with that did marke out upon the earth being blacke, the compasse of the towne that was round and circular, and being devided into two equall partes, either of them resembled the skirtes and facion of the Macedonian cloke. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there rose apon the sodaine out of the river or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowle of all sortes, that they covered the element as it had bene a clowde, and lighting within this circuite, did eate up all the meale, and left not a crumme. Alexander liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bad him not be discoraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a citie there, so plentifull of all thinges, that he should mainteine all sortes of people. Then he commaunded them, unto whom he had geven the charge of the building, that they should goe forward with their worke, and he him selfe in the meane time, tooke his jorney to goe visite the temple of Iupiter Hammon. The Iorney was long, and there were many troubles by the waie, but two daungers above all the rest most speciall. The first, lacke of water, bycause they had to travell many dayes jorney through a great desert. The second was, the daunger of the rising of the southe winde by the waie, to blow the sand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew up whole hilles of sand, which slue fiftie thousand men of Cambyses armie. Every man in Alexanders traine did know these daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to disswade Alexander from any thing which he had a desire unto. For, fortune favoring him in all his attemptes, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble corage besides, made him invincible in all thinges he tooke in hand, in somuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former daungers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the goddes, by the oracles that followed afterwardes. For in a certen sorte, they have beleved the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water

A wonder.

Alexanders journey unto the oracle of Hammon.

Cambyses army slaine by sandehilles.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

and great showers that fell from the element did kepe him from feare of the first daunger, and did quenche their thirst, and moysted the drienes of the sand in such sorte, that there came a swete freshe ayer from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the waie, and that they wandred up and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes unto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Callisthenes writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right waie which had lost their waie. Thus Alexander in thend, having passed through this wildernes, he came unto the temple he sought for: where, the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god Hammon, as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left alive. The priest aunswered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then Alexander againe rehersing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of Philip his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king over all the world. The god aunswered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great presentes unto the god, and gave money large to the priests, and ministers of the temple. This is that the most parte of writers doe declare, touching Alexanders demaund, and the oracles geven him. Yet did Alexander him selfe write unto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart unto her, at his retorne into Macedon. Others saie also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would have said unto him, *O Paidion*, as much as Deere sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, bycause the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an *s*, for an *n*, in the latter ende, saying, *O Pai dios*, to wit, O sonne of Iupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking.

Crowes guided Alexander in his Iorney.

Digitized by Google

Whereupon there ranne a rumor straight among his men, that Iupiter had called him his sonne. It is said also, that he heard Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and that he liked his wordes very well, when he saide that god was king of all mortall men: For (quoth he) he that commaundeth all things, must needes be god. But Alexander selfe spake better, and like a philosopher, when he said: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sorte for him selfe. To conclude, he shewed him selfe more arrogant unto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleved that he had bene begotten of some god: but unto the Græcians he spake more modestly of divine generation. For in a letter he wrote unto the Athenians touching the citie of Samos, he said: I gave ye not that noble free citie, but it was geven you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord and father: meaning Philip. Afterwardes also being striken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frendes said he, This blood which is spilt, is mans blood, and not as Homer said:

The saying of Psammon the philosopher of the providence of God.

Alexander ascribeth godhead to him selfe.

No such as from the immortall gods doth flow.

And one day also in a marvelous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rethoritian being present, said unto him: O thou sonne of Iupiter, wilt thou doe as much? No said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my frends, as thou wouldest have me: disdaining the service of fishe to my borde, bycause thou seest not princes heades served in. And the report goeth also, that Alexander upon a time sending a litle fishe unto Hephestion, Anaxarchus should saye as it were in mockery, that they which above others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, have either small pleasure in the world, or els as litle as others have. By these proofes and reasons alleaged, we maie thinke that Alexander had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of him selfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to kepe other men under obedience, by the opinion conceived of his godhead. Retorning out of Phœnicia into Egypt, he

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander made playes and feastes.

made many sacrifices, feastes, and processions in honor of the goddes, sondry daunces, Tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which strived every one to exceede the other. For the kings of the Cyprians were the setters of them forth, as at Athens they draw by lot a citizen of every tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of these pastimes. These kinges were very earnest who should doe best, but specially Nicocreon, king of Salamina in Cyprus: and Pasicrates, Lord of the citie of Soles. For it fell to their lot to fournish two of the excellentest plaiers, Pasicrates fournished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus: whom Alexander loved singulerly well, though he made no shew of it, untill that Athenodorus was declared victor, by the judges deputed to geve sentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the judges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would have bene contented to have geven the one halfe of his realme, not to have seene Thessalus overcome. Athenodorus being condemned upon a time by the Athenians, bycause he was not in Athens at the feastes of Bacchus, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine set of his head for his absence: he besought Alexander to write unto them in his behalfe, that they would release his penalty. Alexander would not so doe, but sent thether his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purse. Also when Lycon Scarphian, an excellent stage player had pleased Alexander well, and did foiste in a verse in his comedy, conteining a petition of tenne talents: Alexander laughing at it, gave it him. Darius at that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certen of his frendes also, to pray him to take tenne thousand tallentes for the raunsom of all those prisoners he had in his handes, and for all the contries, landes and signories on this side the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thence forth he might be his kinsman and frend. Alexander imparted this to his counsell. Amongest them Parmenio said unto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I in deede, quoth

Darius sent Ambassadours unto Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander againe, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote againe unto Darius, that if he would submit him selfe, he would use him courteously: if not, that then he would presently marche towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when king Darius wife was dead with childe: For without dissimulation it greeved him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his courtesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gave her body honorable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongest the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of Alexanders campe, taking his horse backe, rode unto Darius to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weping bitterly, cried out alowd: Oh goddes! what wretched happe have the Persians! that have not onely had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners even in his life time, but now that she is dead also in travell of childe, she hath bene deprived of princely buriall! Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, and for all due honor that might be wished her, Persia hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene Statira your wife whilest she lived prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any parte or jot of their honor they were wont to have before, saving onely to see the light of your honour, the which, god Oromasdes graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) unto your majestie: neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For Alexander is as mercifull in victorie, as he is valliant in battell. Darius hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very griefe: tooke the Eunuche aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said unto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persians, becomen a Macedonian, but doest in thy hart acknowledge Darius, for thy soveraine Lord and master: I pray thee, and do also conjure thee, by the reverence thou bearest unto this bright light of the sunne, and to the right hande of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are these the least evills which I lament in Statira,

Statira, king Darius wife, died in travell of childe.

Tireus reporte to Darius of Statiraes buriall.

Darius talke with Tireus the Eunuch.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonor, than if we had dishonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemy? For, what honest communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince have with his enemies wife a prisoner: having done her so much honor as he hath done? Darius going on with these speeches, Tireus the eunuch fell downe on his knees, and besought him not to say so, neither to bleamish the vertue of Alexander in that sorte, nor yet so to dishonor his sister and wife deceased, and thereby also to deprive him selfe of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in this calamitie, which was, to be overcome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could possibly have: but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders vertue, who had shewed him selfe chaster to the Ladies, than valliant against the Persians. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honesty, chastity, and noble minde of Alexander, by many great and deepe othes. Then Darius comming out among his frendes againe, holding up his handes unto the heavens, made this prayer unto the gods:

The commendation of Alexanders chastity.

Darius prayer unto the gods.

'O heavenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of kings 'and realmes: first, I beseech you graunt me, that restoring 'the Persians againe to their former good state, I may leave 'the realme unto my successors, with that glorie and fame 'I received it of my predecessors: that obtaining victory, I 'may use Alexander with that great honor and curtesie, 'which he hath in my misery shewed unto those I loved 'best in the world. Or otherwise, if the time appointed be 'come, that the kingdom of Persia must nedes have end, 'either through divine revenge, or by naturall chaunge of 'earthly things: Then, good goddes yet graunt, that none 'but Alexander after me, may sit in Cyrus throne.' Divers writers doe agree, that these things came even thus to passe. Now Alexander having conquered all Asia on this side of the river of Euphrates, he went to meete with Darius, that came downe with ten hundred thowsand fighting men. It was told him by some of his frendes to make him laugh, that the slaves of his army had devided them selves in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either parte, naming the

Darius army of tenne hundred thowsand fighting men against Alexander, at the river of Euphrates.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

one Alexander, and the other Darius: and that at the first, they beganne to skirmish only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with fistes, but at the last, they grew so hot, that they came to plaine stones and staves, so that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needes have the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the other: and Alexander selfe did arme him that was called Alexander, and Philotas the other which was called Darius. All the army thereupon was gathered together to see this combat betwene them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to some. The fight was sharp betwene them, but in thend, he that was called Alexander overcame the other: and Alexander to reward him, geve him twelve villages, with priviledge to goe after the Persian maner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes: The great battell that Alexander fought with Darius, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gausameles, which signifieth in the Persian tongue, the house of the cammell. For some one of the auncient kings of Persia that had scaped from the hands of his enemies, flying upon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the moone, in the moneth called Bœdromion (now August) about the time that the feast of the misteries was celebrated at Athens. The eleventh night after that, both their armies being in sight of the other, Darius kept his men in battell ray, and went him selfe by torche light viewing his bandes and companies. Alexander on thother side whilest his Macedonian souldiers slept, was before his tent with Aristander the Soothsayer, and made certaine secret ceremonies and sacrifices unto Apollo. The auncient Captaines of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the vallie betwext the river of Niphates, and the mountaines of the Gordieians, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the sound thereof: they were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in maner unpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

unto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsell him to geve battell by night, bicause the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable aunswere: I will not steale victorie, quoth he. This aunswere seemed very fonde and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasaunt, being neere so great daunger. Howebeit others thinke that it was a present noble corage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to geve Darius no maner of occasion (if he were overcomen) to take hart againe, and to prove an other battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his overthrow: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his overthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For, sayd he, Darius will never leave to make warres with us for lacke of men, nor munition, having so large a realme as he hath, and such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hasard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noone dayes overthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to doe before: insomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite apon him at his uprising, marveled when they found him so sounde a sleepe, and therefore of them selves they commaunded the souldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast apon them, Parmenio went into Alexanders chamber, and comming to his beddes side, called him twise or thrise by his name, till at the last he waked him, and asked him how it chaunced that he slept so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not thinke he should fight as great and daungerous a battell as ever he did in his life. Why, sayd Alexander, laughing on him: doest thou not thinke we have already overcomen, being troubled no more with running after Darius up and downe a contrie utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have bene compelled to have done, if he would not have comen to battell, and destroyed the contrie befor us? Now Alexander

The magnanimity of Alexander.

Digitized by Google

did not only shew him selfe before the battell, but even at the very instant of battell, a noble man of corage, and of great judgement. For Parmenio leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the Bactrians gave such a fierce onset upon the Macedonians, that they made them geve backe: and Mazeus also, king Darius Lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to geve charge upon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. Parmenio being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediatly to advertise Alexander, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to Alexander from Parmenio, he had already geven the signall of battell unto his men for to geve charge. Whereupon he aunswered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell Parmenio he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they should not only save their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemies: and if it were their chaunce to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their slaves, but only to thinke to dye honorably, valliantly fighting for his life. Having sent this message unto Parmenio, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a Sicilian cassocke, and upon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canvas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the spoyles at the battell of Issus. His head peece was as bright as silver, made by Theophilus the armorer: his coller sutelike to the same, all set full of pretious stones, and he had a sword by his side, marvelous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the Citieians had geven him, using commonly to fight with his sword at any set battel. His coate armor was marvelous rich, and of sumptuous workemanshippe, farre above all the rest he ware. It was of the workemanshippe of Hellicon, the which the Rhodians gave him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any oration unto them, or did ryde alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes

Alexanders third battell with Darius.

The armor of Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

used to ryde upon an other horse to spare Bucephal, bicause he was then somewhat olde: notwithstanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then Bucephal was brought unto him, and as soone as he was gotten up on his backe, the trompet sounded, and he gave charge. Then, after he had made long exhortacions to incorage the men of armes of the Thessalians, and the other Græcians also, and when they had all promised him they would sticke to him like men, and prayed him to lead them, and geve charge uppon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding up his right hande unto heaven, besought the goddes (as Callisthenes writeth) that if it were true, he was begotten of Iupiter, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encorage the Græcians. The Soothsayer Aristander was then a horseback hard by Alexander, apparelled all in white, and a crowne of gold on his head, who shewed Alexander when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This marvelously encoraged all the armie that saw it, and with this joy, the men of armes of Alexanders side, encoraging one an other, did set spurres to their horse to charge apon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the Persians, beganne a litle to geve way, and before the foremest could come to geve them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs, and fled. The chase was great, Alexander driving them that fled uppon the middest of their owne battell, where Darius selfe was in person. He spied him a farre of over the foremest ranckes in the middest of his battel, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a charriot of warre, compassed in rounde with great troupes of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinaunce to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander at hand with so grimme a looke, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their rancks: there fell such a feare among them, that the most parte dispersed them selves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valliantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one apon an other, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow Darius. For they lying one by an other on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and

An Eagle flew over Alexanders head, when he went to fight with Darius.

Digitized by Google

horses by the legges to hinder them. Darius then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had set before him for safegard, came backe upon him, so as he could not devise how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheels were so hindered and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set apon and hidde in maner in this conflict, fell to leapinge and plunginge for feare, so that the charrettiers coulde no lenger guide nor drive them: he got up upon a mare that lately had fole, and so saved him selfe flying apon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once againe sent unto Alexander to pray him to come and aide him: bicause there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenaunce to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have delt but slackely and cowardly, either bicause his age had taken his corage from him, or else for that he envied Alexanders greatnes and prosperity, who against his will became over great as Callisthenes sayd. In fine, Alexander was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truely the cause why, but faining that he would have them leave killing, and bicause also night came on: he caused the trompet sound retreate, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had geven the enemies the overthrowe, and that they fled every way for life. The battell having this successe, every man thought that the kingdom of the Persians was utterly overthrowen, and that Alexander likewise was become only king of all Asia: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices unto the goddes, and gave great riches, houses, lands and possessions unto his frendes and familliars. Furthermore, to shewe his liberalitie also unto the Græcians, he wrote unto them, that he would have all tyrannies suppressed through out all Græce, and that all the Græcians should live at libertie under their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote unto the Platæians, that he woulde reedifie their citie againe, bicause their predecessors in time past, had geven their contrie unto the Græcians, to fight against the barbarous

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The flying of Darius.

Alexanders third victory of Darius, and liberalitie to all men.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

people for the defence of the common libertie of all Græce. He sent also into Italie unto the Grotonians, parte of the spoyle, to honor the memory of the valliantnes, and good will of Phayllus their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the Medes, (when all the Græcians that dwelt in Italie had forsaken their naturall contrie men of Græce it selfe, bicause they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a shippe of his unto Salamina, which he armed and set forth at his owne charges, bicause he would be at the battell and partake also of the common daunger with the Græcians: such honor did Alexander beare unto prowes, that he loved to reward and remember the worthy deedes of men. Then Alexander marching with his army into the contry of Babylon, they all yeelded straight unto him. When he came into the contrie of the Ecbatanians, he marveled when he saw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a wel: and that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kinde of *mawnd or chalkie clay somwhat lyquid, of such aboundaunce, as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like unto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is so easie to be sette a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is set afire, and doth also set the ayer a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that contrie, being desirous to shewe Alexander the nature of that Naptha, scattered the streete that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the first droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the streete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. Alexander being in bath at that time, and waited apon by a page called Steven: (a hard favored boy, but yet that had an excellent sweete voyce to sing) one Athenophanes an Athenian, that alwayes nointed and bathed the king, and much delighted him with his pleasaunt conceites, asked him if he would see the triall of this Naptha apon Steven: for if the fire tooke, and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderfull force, and was unquencheable. The page was

*The strength and power of Naptha, in the contry of Ecbatania.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

contented to have it proved apon him. But so soone as they had layed it on him, and did but touche it only, it tooke straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander him selfe was in a marvelous perplexitie withall. And sure had it not bene by good happe, that there were many by ready with vessells full of water to put into the bath, it had bene unpossible to have saved the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha unto the fable of Medea, saying that therwith she rubbed the crowne and lawne she gave unto the daughter of Creon at her mariage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of them selves, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnes to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sate. For the beames which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to heet and lighten them. But such as have an oyly drie humor, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it easily enflameth and setteth a fire, by the forcible impression of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this naturall force of Naptha,* or whether this liquid substance and moyst humor that taketh fire so easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For this contrie of Babylon is very hot, insomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it up againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammacion had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extreamest heate of the sommer, doe sleepe there, upon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left there his Lieutenaunt and Governor of that contry, desiring to set forth and beawtifie the gardens of the kings pallace and walkes of the same, with all maner of plantes of Græce: he brought all the rest to good passe, saving Ivie only, which the earth could never abide, but it ever dyed, bicause the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Ivie of it selfe liketh fresh ayer and a cold ground. This digression is somwhat from

What Medaes enchantement was.

*In this place there lacke certaine lynes in the Greeke originall.

No Ivie in the contrie of Babylon.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

the matter, but peradventure the reader will not thinke it troublesome, howe hard soever he finde it, so it be not over tedious. Alexander having wonne the citie of Susa, he found within the castell foure thowsand talentes in ready coyne, gold and silver, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongest the which (it is sayd) he found to the value of five thowsand talentes weight of *purple Hermiona silke which they had safe locked up and kept the space of two hundred yeres save ten, and yet the colour kept as freshe as if it had bene newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with honnie, in silkes which before had bene dyed redde, and with white oyle in white silkes. For, there are silkes seene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. Dino writeth furthermore, that the kinges of Persia made water to be brought from the rivers of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did locke up with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into Persia being very hard of passage, and in maner unpassable, (both for the illnes of the wayes, as also for the gard that kept them, which were the choisest men of Persia) Darius also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greeke and Persian tongue (whose father was borne in the contry of Lycia, and his mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into Persia, by some compasse fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles aunswere of Alexander geven by the mouth of Nunne Pythias, when he was a child: that a Lycian should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great slaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander him selfe wryteth, that he commaunded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turne. It is sayd also, that there he found a marvelous treasure of gold and silver in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of Susa: the which he caried away with all the rest of the kinges rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thowsande moyles, and five thowsande cammells. Alexander entring into the castell of the chiefe

Tresure found by Alexander at the citie of Susa.

*It seemeth that he meaneth of silke dyed in purple whereof the best that was in Europe was made in the citie of Hermiona, in Laconia.

Alexanders jorney into Persia.

Alexander found a marvelous treasure in Persia.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

citie of Persia, saw by chaunce a great image of Xerxes lye on the ground, the which unwares was throwen downe by the multitude of the souldiers that came in, thronging one apon an other. Thereupon he stayed, and spake unto it as if it had bene alive, saying: I can not tell whether I should passe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madest somtime against the Græcians: or whether I should lift thee up, respecting the noble minde and vertues thou haddest. In thend, when he had stoode mute a long time, considering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weary army, bicause it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte goeth, that the first time that Alexander sate under the cloth of state of king Darius, all of rich golde: Demarathus Corinthian (who first beganne to love him even in his father Philippes time) burst out in teares for joy, good old man, saying that the Græcians long time dead before, were deprived of this blessed happe, to see Alexander set in king Xerxes princely chaier. After that, preparing againe to goe against Darius, he would needes make mery one day, and refresh him selfe with some bancket. It chaunced so, that he with his companions was bidden to a private feast privately, where was assembled some fine curtisans of his familiars who with their frendes taried at the banket. Amongest them was that famous Thais, borne in the contry of Attica, and then concubine to Ptolomy, king of Ægypt after Alexanders death. She finely praising Alexander, and partely in sporting wise, began to utter matter in affection of her contrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: saying, that that day she founde her selfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines she had taken, travelling through all the contries of Asia, following of his armie, now that she had this favor and good happe to be mery and pleasaunt, in the prowde and stately pallace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation, to burne Xerxes house with the fire of joy, who had burnt the city of Athens: and her selfe to geve the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Bicause ever after it might be said, that the women following his campe, had taken more

The insolent boldnes of Thais the harlot.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

noble revenge of the Persians, for the wronges and injuries they had done unto Græce: than all the Captaines of Græce that ever were had done, either by lande or sea. When she had sayd, Alexanders familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noise for joy, saying: that it were as good a deede as could be possible, and perswaded Alexander unto it. Alexander yeelding to their perswasions, rose up, and putting a garland of flowers apon his head, went formest him selfe: and all his familliars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the castell. The other Macedonians hearing of it also, came thither immediatly with torches light and great joy, hoping that this was a good signe that Alexander ment to returne againe into Macedon, and not to dwell in the contrie of the barbarous people, sith he did burne and destroy the kings castell. Thus, and in this sorte it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the counsell. But howsoever it was, all they graunt, that Alexander did presently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good will and readines to geve, increased with his conquestes: and when he did bestowe giftes of any, he would besides his gift ever geve them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and favor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. Aristo being Collonell of the Pæonians, having slaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and sayd: Such a present, O king, by us, is ever rewarded with a cuppe of golde. Yea, quoth Alexander, smyling apon him: with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe geve thee cuppe and all. An other time, he met with a poore Macedonian that led a moyle loden with gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was so weary that she could no lenger cary her burden, the moyleter put it apon his owne backe, and loded him selfe withall, carying it so a good pretie way: howbeit in thende being overloden, was about to throwe it downe on the ground. Alexander perceiving it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was tolde him: Well, quoth he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I geve it thee. To be

Persepolis set a fire by Alexander.

Digitized by Google

short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would aske him somewhat. He wrote also unto Phocion, that he would take him no more for his frend, if he would refuse his giftes. It seemed that he had geven nothing unto a young boy called Serapion (who ever did serve them the ball that played at tenis) bicause he asked him nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to him selfe. The king marveling at it, at the length sayd unto him: Why, my boy, doest thou not geve me the ball? Bicause your majestie doth not aske it me, quoth he. Alexander then understanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one Proteas, a pleasaunt conceited man, and that could slent finely. It chaunced upon some occasion that Alexander fell out with him: whereuppon some of his frends were intercessors to the king for him, and besought him to pardon him: and Proteas him selfe also being present, craved pardon with teares in his eyes. Alexander thereupon forgave him. Then pleasauntly replied Proteas, I desire it may please your grace, that I may receive some testimonie to assure me I am in your favor. Thereuppon the king straight commaunded one to geve him five talents. The goods and riches he gave unto his familliars and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother Olympias wrote unto him, to this effect: I know thou sparest not to geve thy frends large giftes, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them kings fellowes, they get many frendes, and leave the poste alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters unto him, the which Alexander kept very secret, saving one day when he opened one of them, Hephæstion being present drew neere, and red the letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had red it, he plucked the seale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did use to seale his letters, and put it to Hephæstions mouth. He gave also unto the sonne of Mazeus, (that was the chiefest man about Darius) a seconde government, besides that which he had before, and greater

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexanders prodigalitie reproved by his mother Olympias.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

than the first. This young noble man refused it saying: Why, and it please your grace, before there was but one Darius, but you now make many Alexanders. He gave unto Parmenio also, Bagoas house, where (as is reported) he found a thowsand talents worth, of the spoyles and goods of the Susians. He wrote also unto Antipater, that he should keepe a gard about his person, for he had many enemies that lay in waite for him. He did send also many goodly presents unto his mother, but withall he wrote unto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking upon her the office of a Captaine. She storming at it, he paciently did brooke her anger. Antipater an other time, wryting a long letter unto him against his mother Olympias, when he had red it over: Loe, said he, Antipater knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thowsande such letters. Furthermore, Alexander perceiving on a time, that his frendes became very dissolute and licentious in dyet and life, and that Agnon Teian had his corked shooes nayled with silver nayles, that Leonatus also caused divers cammells to be loden amongest his cariage with powder of Ægypt, to put apon him when he wrestled or used any other exercise of body: and that also they caried after Philotas, toyles for chase and hunting, of a hundred furlong long, and that there were also that used pretious perfumes and swete savors when they bathed them selves, more then there were that rubbed them selves with plaine oyle, and that they had fine chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes soft and delicate: he wisely and curteously rebuked them and sayd: I marvell, said he, that you which have fought in so often and great battells, doe not remember that they which travell, doe sleepe more sweete and soundly, than they that take their ease and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the Persians, to live at pleasure is a vile thinge, and to travell is Princely. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dresse his owne horse, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant, that

Alexander reproveth the finenes and curiositie of his frendes.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

the type of honor in all our victorie consisteth, in scorning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we have vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint them selves with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard him selfe more daungerously, then ever he had done before. Whereuppon an Ambassador of Lacedæmon being present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayd unto him: Truely your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. Craterus after that, caused this hunting to be set up in the temple of Apollo in Delphes: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogges, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of him selfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by Lysippus, the rest by Leochares. Thus Alexander did put him selfe unto all juberdies, as well to exercise his strength and corage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding, his frendes and familliars having wealth at will, as men exceeding riche, they would needes live delicately and at ease, and woulde take no more paines, misliking utterly to goe up and downe the contries to make warre here and there: and thereuppon beganne a litle to finde fault with Alexander, and to speake evill of him. Which at the first Alexander tooke quietly, saying, that it was honor for a king to suffer him selfe to be slaundered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did unto his frendes, did shewe his hartie love and honor he bare them, as shall appeare unto you by some examples that followe. Peucestas being bitten by a beare, did let his frendes understande it by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto Alexander. Alexander was offended therewith, and wrote unto him thus: Sende me worde at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to thende they may be punished. Hephæstion being absent about certaine businesse he had, Alexander wrote unto him, that as they were hunting a beast called Ichnewmon, Craterus unfortunately crossinge Perdiccas darte, was striken through both his thighes. Peucestas being cured of a great disease, Alexander wrote unto Alexippus his

Alexander, enemy to idlenes.

Alexanders care of his frendes and wonderfull curtesie towards them.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Phisitian that had cured him, and gave him thankes. Craterus also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine sacrifices for the recoverie of his health, and sent unto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian Pausanias ment to geve him a drinke of Elleborum, he wrote letters unto him, telling him what daunger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he received that medicine. He did also put Ephialtes and Cissus in prison, who brought him the first newes of Harpalus flying, bicause they did wrongfully accuse and slaunder him. When he had commaunded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persones that were in his campe, to sende them home againe into their contry: there was one Eurylochus Ægeian that made his name be billed among the sicke persons, and it was found afterwardes that he was not sicke, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called Telesippa, with whom he was in love, who was returning homewardes towardes the sea side. Alexander asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then sayd Alexander unto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy love, yet I can not force her to tarie: but seeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his frendes, even in such trifles as he did. As, when he wrote into Cilicia for a servaunt of Seleucus that was fled from his master, sending straight commaundement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by an other letter he commendeth Peucestas, for that he had stayed and taken one Nicon, a slave of Craterus. And by one other letter also unto Megabizus, touching an other bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple: he commaunded him also to seeke to intise him out of the sanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case.

Alexander kept one eare for the condemned person.

It is sayd also, that at the first when he used to sit in judgement to heare criminall causes, whilest the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he alwayes used to lay his hande uppon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from

Digitized by Google

the matter of accusation, thereby reserving it to heare the purgacion and justificacion of the person condemned. But afterwardes, the number of accusations that were brought before him, did so provoke and alter him, that he did beleve the false accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothinge put him more in rage, then when he understoode they had spoken ill of him: and then he was so fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loved his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went against Darius, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but understanding that Bessus had taken him, then he gave the Thessalians leave to departe home into their contrie, and gave them two thowsand talentes, over and above their ordinarie pay. Alexander had then a marvelous long, hard, and painefull jorney in following of Darius: for in eleven dayes, he rode three thowsande three hundred furlong, insomuch as the most parte of his men were even wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine Macedonians that caried (uppon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a river. They seeing Alexander in manner deade for thirst, being about noone: ranne quickely to him, and in a headpeece brought him water. Alexander asked them, to whom they caried this water. They answered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet we would have your grace to live: for though we lose them, we may get more children. When they had sayd so, Alexander tooke the helmet with water, and perceiving that men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckes to looke upon this water, he gave the water backe againe unto them that had geven it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For, sayd he, if I drinke alone, all these men here will faint. Then they seeing the noble corage and curtesie of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them: and therewithall beganne to spurre their horses, saying, that they were not wearie nor a thirst, nor did thinke them selves mortall, so long as they had such a king. Everie man was a like willing to followe Alexander, yet had he but three score only that entred with him into the enemies campe.

Alexander would not pardon ill wordes spoken of him.

Alexanders paineful jorney, in following of Darius.

The love of Alexander to his souldiers, and abstinence.

Digitized by Google

There, passinge over much golde and silver which was scattered abroade in the market place, and going also by many charriottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all adventure: they ranne upon the spurre untill they had overtaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have founde Darius amongest them. But at the length, with much a doe, they founde him layed along in a coche, having many woundes upon his bodie, some of darts and some speares. So, he being almost at the last cast, called for some drinke, and dranke colde water, which Polystratus gave him. To whom when he had dronke, he sayd: This is my last mishappe, my frend, that having received this pleasure, I can not requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompence thee, and the goddes, Alexander, for the liberalitie and curtesie which he hath shewed unto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last wordes, he tooke Polystratus by the hande, and so gave up the goast. Alexander came immediatly after, and plainely shewed that he was sorie for his death and misfortune: and undoing his owne cloke, he cast it upon the body of Darius. After that, having by good happe gotten Bessus into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high straight trees which he bowed downewards, and tied his legges to eche of them: so that when the trees were let goe, they gave a sodaine cruell jerke up and caried either tree, a peece of his bodie with it. Then Alexander having geven Darius corse Princely buriall, and embalmed him: he sent it unto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his frendes. From thence he went into the contrie of Hyrcania with all the flower of his armie, where he sawe the gulfe of the sea Caspium, which he thought of no lesse greatnesse, then the sea of Pontus, howbeit calmer then the other seas be. He could not then certainly finde out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was some breaking out of the lake or marrish of Meotin. Yet some auncient naturall Philosophers seemed to know truely what it was. For many yeares before Alexanders voyage and conquest, they wrote, that of the foure chiefest gulfes of the sea that commeth from the Ocean, and doe

Alexander regarded not the spoyle of gold and silver, in respect of pursuing his flying enemy.

The death of Darius.

The punishment and execution of Bessus.

The sea Hyrcanium or Caspium.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

entre within maine land, that which is most northerly, is the sea Caspium, which they call also Hyrcanium. As Alexander went through the contrie, certaine barbarous people sodainely sette uppon them that led Bucephal his horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage, that he sent a Heraulde into their contrie to proclaime open warres uppon them, and that he would put man, woman, and childe to the sword, if they brought him not his horse againe. Whereuppon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yeelded up their cities and fortes into his handes: he did use them all very curteously, and moreover did geve them money for the raunsome of his horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the contrie of Parthia. There havinge leasure enough, he beganne to apparell him selfe after the facion of the barbarous people, bicause he thought thereby the better to winne the harts of the contriemen, framing him selfe unto their owne facions: or else to trye the hartes of the Macedonians, to see how they would like the maner of the Persians (which he ment to bring them unto) in reverencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting them to allow the alteracion and chaunge of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take up the apparell of the Medes, which was verie straunge, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without briches, nor did weare a long gowne trailing on the grounde, nor a high coptanct hatte, but tooke a meane apparell betwext the Medes and the Persians, more modest then theirs, and more costly than the last: and yet at the first he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or else privately amongest his frendes and familliars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed him selfe openly to the people in that apparel, when he gave them audience. This sight grieved the Macedonians much: but they had his vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take his owne pleasure, sithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his legge broken with an arrow, and an other time, had such a blow with a stone full in his necke, that it made him spurre blinde a great while after, and yet neverthelesse he never eschewed

Alexander goeth after the maner of the Persians.

Some faultes are to be borne with, in a man of great vertues.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Orexartes fl.

any bodely daunger. For he passed over the river of Orexartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and havinge in battell overthrowen the Scythians, he followed them in chase above a hundred furlong, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosenesse of bodie. Thither came unto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the Amazones, as many wryters doe testifie: among the which are these, Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Hister. But Chares, Ptolomy, Anticlides, and Philon Theban, Philip the historiographer, Hecateus Eretrian, Philip Chalcidian, and Duris Samian, all these doe wryte that it was not true: and it seemeth also that Alexander selfe doth confirme it. For, wryting all things particularly unto Antipater as they happened unto him, he wrote unto him that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mencion at all of any Amazon. It is also sayd, that Onesicritus long time after that did reade unto king Lysimachus, the fourth booke of his historie, where he did speake of the Amazon. Lysimachus smyling, sayd unto him[1]: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, Alexanders estimacion thereby is neither impayred nor advaunced. Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Macedonians, being wearie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the rest of his armie behinde, and tooke only twentie thowsande footemen, and three thowsand horsemen of the choycest men of his armie, and with them invaded the contrie of Hyrcania. There he made an oration unto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of Asia had but seene them as it were in a dreame, and if they should now returne backe into Macedon, having but onely sturred them, and not altogether subdued Asia: the people offended with them, would sette uppon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neverthelesse, he gave any man leave to returne that would, protesting therewith against them that would goe, how they did forsake him, his frends, and those who had so good harts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a jorney, to conquer the whole earth unto the Macedonians. This selfe matter is reported thus in a letter which Alexander wrote unto Antipater: and there

Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.

Digitized by Google

he wryteth furthermore, that having made this oration unto them, they all cried out, and bad him leade them into what parte of the worlde he would. When they had graunted their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the rest of the common sorte who followed thexample of the chiefest. Thereuppon he did frame him selfe the more to live after the facion of the contrie there, and enterchaungeablie also to bring the men of that contrie unto the manner of the Macedonians: being perswaded, that by this mixture and enterchaunge of manners one with an other, he should by frendshippe more then force, make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so farre from the contry of Persia. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirty thowsand of their children of that contry, and set them to learne the Greke tongue, and to be brought up in the discipline of warres, after the Macedonians maner: and gave them schoolemasters and Captaines to traine them in ech facultie. And for the marrying of Roxane, he fancied her, seeing her at a feast where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better advise and counsell loved her. For the barbarous people were verie prowde of this matche when they sawe him make alliance with them in this sorte, insomuch as they loved him better then they did before, bicause they saw in those things he was alwayes so chast and continent, that notwithstanding he was marvelously in love with her, yet he would not dishonorably touche this young Ladie, before he was maried unto her. Furthermore, Alexander considering that of the two men which he loved best, Hephæstion liked well of his matche, and went apparelled as him selfe did, and that Craterus contrarily did still use the Macedonian manner: he delt in all affayres with the barbarous people, by Hephæstion, and with the Græcians and Macedonians, by Craterus. To be short, he loved the one, and honored the other: saying, that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king. Hereuppon these two persons bare one an other grudge in their harts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: insomuch as on a time being in India, they drewe their swordes and fought together, and divers of their frendes ranne to take part with either side. Thither

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander maried Roxane, a Persian.

Quarrell betwext Hephæstion and Craterus.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

came Alexander selfe also, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke up Hephæstion, and called him foole and bedlem, saying: Doest thou not know, that whatsoever he be that should take Alexander from me, he should never live? Privatly also, he sharply rebuked Craterus, and calling them both before him, he made them frendes together, swearing by Iupiter Hammon, and by all the other gods, that he loved them two of all men living, nevertheles if ever he founde that they fell out together againe, they should both dye for it, or him at the least that first beganne to quarrell. So ever after that, they say, there was never fowle word nor deede betwene them, not so much as in sport only.

Why Philotas was suspected, and envied of Alexander.

There was also one Philotas, the sonne of Parmenio, a man of great authority among the Macedonians, who next unto Alexander was the most valliantest man, the pacientest to abide paine, the liberallest, and one that loved his men and frends better then any noble man in the campe whatsoever. Of him it is reported, that a frend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commaunded straight one of his men to let him have it. His purse bearer aunswered him, that he had none. Why, sayd his master, doest thou tell me so? Hast thou not plate, and apparell to sell or gage to helpe him to some? Howbeit otherwise, he had such a pride and glory to shew his riches, to apparell himselfe so sumptuously, and to be more fine and princked then became a private man, that this made him to be hated: bicause he tooke upon him to be a great man and to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ill favoredly, and therfore every man through his owne folly, fell in misliking with him. Insomuch as his owne father said one day unto him: Sonne I pray thee be more humble and lowly. This Philotas had long before bene complained upon unto Alexander, bicause that when the cariage of king Darius armie (which was in the citie of Damas) was taken after the battell of Cilicia, among many prisoners that were taken and brought unto Alexanders campe, there was one Antigona, a passing fayer young curtisan, borne in the citie of Pidna. Philotas founde meanes to gette her, and like a young man that was in love with her, making merie with her at the table, fondly

Digitized by Google

lette fall brave wordes and boastes of a souldier, saying, that what notable thinges were done, they were done by him selfe and his father: and called Alexander at everie worde, young man, and sayd that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This courtisan tolde one of his frendes what he sayd, and that frende tolde an other frende, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Craterus eares. He tooke the courtisan, and brought her unto Alexander, unto whom she told as much as she had sayd before. Alexander bad her still make much of Philotas, and to tell him every word what he sayd of him. Philotas knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did ever frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to speake many foolish and undiscreete words against the king, somtime in anger, and somtime againe in a bravery. Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse Philotas, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew Parmenio loved him, or else for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one Limnus Chalæstrian a Macedonian, that layed great and secret waite to kill Alexander: and being in love with a young man called Nicomachus, entised him to helpe him to doe this deede. The young man wisely denied it, and told the same to his brother called Balinus. He went unto Philotas, and prayed him to bring them both before Alexander, for they had a matter of great importance to impart unto him. Philotas would not let him speake with the king (but why, no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hande, and was not at leasure. Then they went unto an other, and he brought them unto Alexander, unto whome first they opened the treason of Limnus conspired against him: and by the way they tolde also, how they had bene twise before with Philotas, who would not let them come in, nor speake with them. That angred Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended also when Limnus was slaine by him, whome he sent to apprehende him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Limnus traiterously seeketh to kill Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

meanes to come to the light of this treason and conspiracie. Then Alexander frowning uppon Philotas, brought all his enemies upon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to speake boldly, that it was time for the kinge to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this Limnus Chalæstrian of him selfe durst have entred into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, set on by a greater personage then he: and therefore that it stoode Alexander upon to examine them straightly, which had cause to keepe this treason secret. After Alexander once gave eare unto such wordes and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought in a thowsand accusations against Philotas. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers Lordes and familliars of the king put to the torter, Alexander selfe being behinde a hanginge, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he hearde howe faintly and pitiefully he besought Hephæstion to take pitie of him, he sayd unto him selfe: Alas, poore Philotas, thou that hast so faint a hart, howe durst thou take uppon thee so great matters? In fine, Philotas was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, Alexander sent also with speede unto the realme of Media to kill Parmenio, who was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had served king Philippe his father, in his greatest affayers, and who onely of all other the olde servauntes of his father had procured Alexander to take in hande the conquest of Asia: and who also of three sonnes which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwardes was slaine him selfe with the third. This crueltie of Alexander made his frendes affrayed of him, and specially Antipater: who secretly sent Ambassadors unto the Ætolians, to make league with them, bicause they them selves also were affrayed of Alexander, for that they had put the Oeniades to death. Alexander hearing that, sayd, that he him selfe, and not the sonnes of the Oeniades, would be revenged of the Ætolians. Not long after that, followed the murther of Clitus, the which to heare it simplie tolde, would seeme much more cruell than the death of Philotas. But reportinge the cause and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

Antipater was affrayed of Alexander.

Digitized by Google

founde that it was not of sette purpose, but by chaunce, and unfortunately, that Alexander being overcome with wine, did unluckely wreake his anger upon Clitus. The manner of his misfortune was this: There came certaine men of the lowe contries from the sea side, that brought apples of Græce unto Alexander. Alexander wondering to see them so greene and fayer, sent for Clitus to shewe him them, and to geve him some of them. Clitus by chaunce did sacrifice at that time unto the goddes, and left his sacrifice to goe unto Alexander: howebeit there were three weathers that followed him, on whome the accustomed sprincklinges had bene done alreadie to have sacrificed them. Alexander understandinge that, tolde it to his Soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis Laconian, who both did aunswere him, that it was an ill signe. Alexander thereuppon gave order straight, that they shoulde doe sacrifice for the health of Clitus, and speciallie for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he sawe Clitus in a mourninge gowne, sittinge amongest the sonnes of Parmenio, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clitus did not make an ende of his sacrifice, but came straight to supper to the kinge, who had that day sacrificed unto Castor and Pollux. At this feast there was olde drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses song and made by a Poet, called Pranichus, (or as others say, of one Pierion) against certaine Captaines of the Macedonians, which had not long before bene overcome by the barbarous people, and only to shame them, and to make the companie laugh. With these verses, auncient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grewe angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that song them. Alexander on thother side, and his familliars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minstrell to sing still. Clitus therewithall being overtaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, prowde and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and sayd: that it was neither well nor honestlie done in that sorte to speake ill of those poore Macedonian Captaines (and speciallie amongest the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them

Why Alexander slue Clitus.

Alexanders dreame of Clitus.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

to scorne, although their fortune much worse then theirs. Alexander then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he pleaded for him selfe, calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then Clitus standing up, sayd againe: But yet this my cowardlynes saved thy life, that callest thy selfe the sonne of the goddes, when thou turnedst thy backe from Spithridates sword: and the blood which these poore Macedonians did shedde for thee, and the woundes which they received of their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to have king Philip for thy father, and wilt needes make thy selfe the sonne of Iupiter Hammon. Alexander being moved with these words, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape unpunished for these prowde words of thine, which thou usest continually against me, making the Macedonians rebell against Alexander? Clitus aunswered againe, Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our paines and service to receive such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long sence are dead and gone, not now to see the Macedonians scourged with roddes of the Medes, and compelled to curry favor with the Persians, to have accesse unto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander againe aunswering and reviling him: the gravest men sought to pacifie this sturre and tumult. Alexander then turning him selfe unto Xenodochus Cardian, and Artemius Colophonian: Doe you not thinke (sayd he) that the Græcians are amongest the Macedonians, as demy goddes that walke among brute beastes? Clitus for all this would not geve over his impudency and mall-apertnesse, but cried out, and bad Alexander speake openlie what he had to say, or else not to bidde free men come to suppe with him that were wont to speake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaves that honored his Persian girdell, and long white garment. Then coulde Alexander no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was upon his table, and threw it at Clitus, and looked for his sworde, the which Aristophanes, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when everie man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the

The malapertnes of Clitus against Alexander.

Digitized by Google

borde, and called his gard unto him in the Macedonian tongue, (which was a signe of great trouble to followe after it) and commaunded a trompetor to sound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not sound: whereuppon Alexander strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trompetor was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet Clitus, whereupon his frends with much a doe thrust him out of the halle: but he came in againe at an other dore, and arrogantly and unreverently rehearsed this verse of the Poet Euripides, out of *Andromaches* tragedie: ALEXANDER THE GREAT

> Alas for sorow, evill wayes
> Are into Græce crept now a dayes.

Then Alexander taking a partisan from one of his gard, as Clitus was comming towardes him, and had lift up the hanging before the dore, he ranne him through the body, so that Clitus fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. Alexanders choller had left him straight, and he became marvelous sorowfull: and when he saw his frendes round about him say never a word, he pluckt the partisan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, and caried him perforce into his chamber: and there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, and the next day following, untill such time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely laie sighing. His frendes hearing his voice no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would heare none of them, saving Aristander the Soothesayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of Clitus before, which was, a prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his desteny before he was borne. This seemed to comfort Alexander. Afterwardes they brought in Callisthenes the philosopher, a kinsman of Aristotles, and Anaxarchus borne in Abdera. Of these two, Callisthenes sought by gentle talke, not moving any matter offensive, to comfort Alexanders sorow. But Anaxarchus that from the beginning had taken a way by him selfe in the studie of

Alexander slue Clitus, and grievously repented him.

Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

philosophie, being accompted a braine sicke man, and one that despised his companions: he comming into Alexanders chamber also with him, cryed out at the dore as he came in: See, yonder is Alexander the great whom all the world lookes apon, and is affraid of. See where he lies, weeping like a slave on the ground, that is affraid of the lawe, and of the reproche of men: as if he him selfe should not geve them law, and stablish the boundes of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be Lord and master, and not to be subject and slave to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the poets saie, that Iupiter hath Themis, to wit, right and justice placed of either hand on him? what signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholly right, and just? These wordes of Anaxarchus did comfort the sorowfull harte of king Alexander at that time, but therewithall, they made Alexanders maners afterwardes more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marvelously grow in favor with the king, even so did he make the company of Callisthenes, (who of him selfe was not very pleasaunt, bicause of his gravety and sowrenes) much more hatefull and misliked then before. It is written also that there was certain talke one night at king Alexanders borde touching the seasons of the yeare, and temperatenes of the ayer, and that Callisthenes was of their opinion which mainteined, that the contry they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in Græce. Anaxarchus held the contrary opinion, and stifly mainteined it, in so much as Callisthenes said unto him: And yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there, all the winter time thou couldest goe with a single cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou must have three or foure garments upon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled Anaxarchus to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did also hate him, bicause they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloved also of olde men for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his owne, desiring no mans els. Whereby men found, that the reason he alleaged for following of Alexander in this voyage, was true: for he

Digitized by Google

said that he came to be an humble suter to the king to restore his banished citizens into their contrie againe, and to replenish their citie with inhabitantes. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be envyed, yet did he him selfe geve his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being invited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, showing by his gravety and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon Alexander selfe said on a time unto him:

The cause why Callisthenes was envyed.

> I can not thinke that person wise,
> That in his owne case hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, divers requesting him to make an oration on the suddein in commendation of the Macedonians: he made such an eloquent oration upon that matter, that all they that heard him rose from the borde, and clapping their handes for joy, cast nosegayes and flowers upon him. But yet Alexander at that time said unto him that, which the Poet Euripides said:

> It is no maystry to be eloquent,
> In handling of a plentuous argument.

Nay, but utter then thy eloquence in reproving of the Macedonians, that hearing their faultes, they may learne to amend. Then Callisthenes chaunging coppy, spake boldly many thinges against the Macedonians: Declaring, that the dissention amongest the Græcians did increase king Philips power, alleaging these verses:

> Where discord reignes in Realm or towne,
> Even wicked folke doe win renowne.

But by this occasion, he purchased him selfe great ill will of the Macedonians: in somuch, as Alexander selfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare unto the Macedonians. Hermippus the historiographer writeth, that one Strœbus a clearke of Callisthenes did afterwardes tell it unto Aristotle in this sorte:

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

and that Callisthenes seeing king Alexander offended with him, did recite these verses of Homer three or foure times as he went:

Patroclus who farre passed thee,
Was slaine as thou art like to be.

Aristotle thought Callisthenes eloquent, but not wise.

And therefore very wisely said Aristotle, that Callisthenes was eloquent, but not wise. For like a philosopher, he stowtely stood against kneeling to the king, and said that openly, which the noblest and auncientest men among the Macedonians durst but whisper one in an others eare, though they did all utterly mislike it: whereby he did yet deliver Græce from open shame, and Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he undid him selfe bicause he would seeme rather by presumption to bringe him to it, then by reason to perswade him. Chares Mitylenian hath written, that Alexander having dronke at a certain feast where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe unto one of his frendes, who after he had taken it of him, rose up first on his feete, and dranke also, turning him towardes the goddes, and first making solemne reverence, he went and kissed Alexander, and then sate him downe againe. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after an other, and Callisthenes also, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne, (the king not looking on him, but talking with Hephæstion,) after he had dronke, came to the king to kisse him as others had done. Howbeit one Demetrius called Phidon, said unto the king: Kisse him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. Alexander turned his head a side, and would not kisse him. Then cryed Callisthenes out alowde: Well, quoth he, then I will goe my waie, with lesse then others, by a kisse. And thus beganne Alexanders grudge first against Callisthenes, by meanes whereof Hephæstion was credited the better, when he said that Callisthenes had promised him to reverence Alexander, although that he had broken promise. After him also Lysimachus, Agnon, and divers others beganne to plaie their partes against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging up and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young

Digitized by Google

men followed him to honor him, as if among so many thowsand souldiers, never a man of them had so noble a harte as he. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolaus against Alexanders person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detracters had informed against Callisthenes: who had aunswered Hermolaus that asked him, how he could come to be famous above all men, thus: In killing the famousest person. And to animate him to goe forward with this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be affraid of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was somtime sicke and hurte as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was never a one of Hermolaus confederates, that would once name Callisthenes, what tormentes soever they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexander selfe also writing of this treason immediatly after, unto Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, said, that their servauntes which had bene racked and put to the torter, did constantly affirme that they onely had conspired his death, and no man els was privie unto it. But afterwardes, he sent an other letter unto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and said, that his servauntes had already bene stoned to death by the Macedonians, howbeit that he him selfe would afterwardes also punish the master, and those that had sent unto him, and that had received the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed the ill will he bare unto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had bene brought up with him, being his kinsman, and the sonne of Hero, Aristotles neece. Some saie, that Alexander trussed Callisthenes up. Others againe report, that he died of sickenes in prison. Nevertheles Chares writeth, that Callisthenes was kept prisoner seven moneths together, bicause he should have had his judgement in open counsaill even in the presence of Aristotle him selfe: howbeit, being very fatte, he was eaten in the ende by lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt, fighting against the Mallians Oxydracians, in the conquest of India, but these thinges chaunced a good while after. Demaratus Corinthian being very old, had a great desire to goe see Alexander: and when

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Callisthenes suspected of treason against Alexander.

Alexander offended with Aristotle.

The death of Callisthenes the rethoritian.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The journey of Demaratus Corinthian unto Alexander, and his death.

Alexanders journey into India.

Alexander burnt his cariages.

The crueltie of Alexander towardes his men.

A monsterous lamme appeared unto Alexander.

he had seene him, he said that the Græcians which were dead long before, were deprived of that blisse and happynes, that they could not see Alexander sitte in the royall seate of king Darius. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the kinges goodwill unto him, for he died of a sicknes soone after he came unto his campe, and Alexander did honor his funeralls: for all the armie in their armor did cast up a mounte of earth facioned like a tombe, which was a great compasse about, and foure score cubittes high. His ashes afterwardes were brought with an honorable convoye, unto the sea side, in a charriot with foure horses richely set out. Alexander being ready to take his jorney to goe conquer India, perceyving that his armie was very heavy and unwildsom to remove, for the wonderfull cariage and spoiles they had with them: the cartes one morning being loden, he first burnt his owne cariage, and next his frendes, and then commaunded that they should also set the cariage of the Macedonians a fire, which counsell seemed more daungerous to be resolved of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, and the most part of them (as if they had bene secretly moved by some god) with lowde cryes of joy, one of them gave unto an other such necessary things as they had neede of, and afterwardes of them selves did burne and spoile all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous then he was before, besides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or perdon, did sharpely punish every man that offended. For having commaunded Menander, one of his frendes, to kepe him a strong holde: he put him to death, bicause he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he him selfe slue Orsodates (a captaine of the barbarous people) with a darte, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an eawe that had eaned a lambe, which had apon her head, the forme and purple culler of the kinges hatte, after the Persian maner, called Tiara, having two stones hanging on ech side of it. Alexander abhorred this monsterous signe, insomuch as he pourged him selfe by certain Babylonian priestes, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpose, and said unto his frendes: that

Digitized by Google

this monster did not so much move him for respect of him selfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predestined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the handes of some base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, an other signe and token which chaunced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and discouragement he had. For a Macedonian called Proxenus, that had charge of the kinges cariage, as he digged in a certain place by the river of Oxus, to set up the kinges tent and his lodging, he found a certain fatte and oylie vaine, which after they had drawen out the first, there came out also an other cleerer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor savor, from naturall oyle, having the glosse and fattnes so like, as there could be discerned no difference betwene them: the which was so much more to be wondred at, bicause that in al that contry there were no olyves. They say also, that the water of the river selfe of Oxus is very soft, and maketh their skinnes fatte, which wash or bathe them selves therein. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander selfe wrote unto Antipater, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongest the greatest signes which the goddes had sent unto him. The Soothesayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a signe, that he should have a noble, but yet a painefull voyage: for the goddes, said they, have geven oyle unto men to refresh their wearynes. And truly so did he susteine many daungers in those warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he had of his men, was for lacke of vittells, and by the infection of the ayer. For he, striving to overcome fortune by valiantnes, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withstand a noble harte. It is reported, that when he went to besiege a strong holde which Sisimethres kept, being thought unsaltable, and that his souldiers were in dispeire of it: he asked one Oxyarthes, what hart Sisimethres had. Oxyarthes aunswered him, that he was the veriest coward in the world. O, that is well, quoth Alexander: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou saiest, sithence the captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a sodaine, by putting Sisimethres

A spring of oyle found, by the river of Oxus.

Oyle refresheth wearynes.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

in a great feare. After that also, he did besiege an other peece of as great strength, and difficultie to assault as the other, and making the young souldiers of the Macedonians to go to thassault, he called one of them unto him, whose name also was Alexander, unto whom he said thus: Alexander, this daie thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The yong man did not forget his words, for he fought so valliantly, that he was slaine, for whom Alexander was very sory. An other time when his men were affraid, and durst not come neere unto the citie of Nisa to assault it, bicause there ranne a very deepe river hard by the walles: he came to the rivers side, and said: Oh, what a coward am I, that never learned to swimme! and so prepared him selfe to swimme over apon his shielde. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambassadors unto him from the cities besieged, to crave pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaier was brought him to sit downe on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongest them called Acuphis, to take it to him, and sit him downe. Acuphis marveling at Alexanders great curtesie, asked him: what they should doe for him, thenceforth to be his good frendes. I will, said Alexander, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador unto us, doe make thee their king: and withall that they doe send me a hundred of their best men for ostages. Acuphis, smiling, aunswered him againe: But I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called Taxiles a very wise man, who had a great contrie in India, no lesse in biggenes and circuit then all Ægypt, and as full of good pasture and frutes as any country in the world could be: who came on a tyme to salute Alexander, and sayd unto him: What should we neede, Alexander, to fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commoditie to live by: for which thinges, men of judgement must needes fight? As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am ready to give thee of myne: and if I have lesse, I will not thinke skorne to thanke

The citie of Nysa.

Acuphis wise aunswer unto Alexander.

King Taxiles talke with Alexander.

Digitized by Google

thee, if thou wilt give me some of thine. Alexander being pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, and sayd unto him: Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fayre wordes? no, no, thou hast wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honestie and curtesie, bycause thou shalt not exceede me in bowntie and liberalitie. So Alexander taking divers giftes of him, but giving more unto Taxiles: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke to thee a thowsand talents in golde. This gifte misliked Alexanders friendes: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hartes of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that country. There was a certeine number of souldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all that country: who beeing mercenary souldiers, were ever enterteyned in service of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt unto Alexander in divers places. Alexander having made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came abrode apon suertie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sworde. There was but this onely fault, to bleamish the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all thinges els, he shewed mercy and equitie. Furthermore, the grave Philosophers and wise men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reproved the kinges and Princes of the Indians for that they yelded unto Alexander, and procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke divers of their cities. For king Porus, Alexander selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did against him. For he sayth, that both their campes lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, king Porus set his Elephants apon the banke of the river with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe them from passing over: and that he him selfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, and the choice of his horsemen, and went

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexanders aunswer to Taxiles.

Alexander dishonorably brake the peace he had made.

Alexanders actes against king Porus.

Hydaspes fl.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

farre from his enemies to get over into a litle Ilande. When he was come into the Iland, there fel a wonderful shower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders apon his campe, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Ilande. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the river. The river being swollen with the great flud of rayne that fell the night before, overflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that Alexander when he had passed over the river, and was come to the other side, found him selfe in very ill case, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, bicause the earth was very slippery under him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on every side. It is written of him, that then he sayd unto the Athenians: O Athenians, could ye thinke that I could take such paines, and put my selfe into so many daungers, onely to be praised of you? Thus Onesicritus reporteth it. But Alexander selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had passed over the streame of the mayne river: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gutt of the water which had broken the earth, uppe to their breasts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed over both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlonges before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advawnce their footemen forwarde, that his footemen also should come tyme enough. One of the twaine fel out as he had gessed. For, a thowsand horsemen, and three skore charrets armed with his ennemies, gave him charge before their great company, whom he overthrew, and tooke all their charrets, and slue foure hundred of the men of armes in the fielde. King Porus then knowing by those signes that Alexander was there in person, and had passed over the river: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, saving a few which he left behinde to resist the Macedonians, if they shewed force to passe over the river. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of

Digitized by Google

his ennemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not give charge apon the middest of the battell, but being him selfe in the left winge, gave charge apon the corner of thenemies left winge, and also commaunded them that were in the right winge to doe the like. So, both the endes of thenemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne unto the Elephants, and gathered them selves together about them. Thus the battell being begon, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all overthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Many writers doe agree, that Porus was foure cubits and a shaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to save the king his Maister. For whilest he perceyved his Maister was stronge enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assayle him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many woundes apon his body, and arrowes sticking in it: then being afraid lest his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softely fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his troncke, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. Porus beeing taken, Alexander asked him, howe he should handle him. Princely, aunswered Porus. Alexander asked him agayne, if he would saye any thing els. I comprehend all, sayde he, in this word princely. Thereupon Alexander did not onely leave him his provinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Liefetenant: but gave him many other contries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene severall nations, five thowsand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thryse as many other contries: he made Philip one of his friendes, his Liefetenant of all those contries. His horse Bucephal dyed at this battell, not in the fielde, but afterwardes whilest he was in cure for the woundes he had on his body: but as Onesicritus sayth, he dyed even worne for very age. Alexander was as sory for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friendes: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The stature of king Porus.

The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to save the king his maister.

Alexanders conquest in the Indiaes.

The death of Bucephal Alexanders horse.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Bucephalia, a great citie built by Alexander, apon the river of Hydaspes: and why so named.

Peritas, Alexanders dogge.

Ganges fl.

Gangaridæ, and Presij, people of India.

Alexanders returne out of India.

place where his horse was buryed, apon the river of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, Bucephalia. It is reported also, that having lost a dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought uppe of a whelpe, and loved very dearely: he built also a citie, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he hearde it reported thus of Potamon Lesbian. This last battell against king Porus, killed the Macedonians hartes, and made them that they had no desire to goe any further to conquer India. For, finding that they had such a doe to overcome them, though they were but twenty thowsand footemen, and two thowsand horse, they spake yll of Alexander when he went about to compell them to passe over the ryver of Ganges, understanding by the contry men that it was two and thirty furlong over, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the ryver was full of souldiers, horsemen, and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the Gangarides, and the Præsians were on thother side with foure score thowsand horsemen, two hundred thowsand footemen, eight thowsand charrets or carts of warre wel armed, and six thowsand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor fryvolous tale. For, a king called Androcottus (who raigned not long after,) gave unto Seleucus, five hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all India with sixe hundred thowsand fighting men. Alexander then offended with his mens refusall, kept close in his tent for certeine daies, and lay upon the ground, saying, that he did not thanke them, for all that they had done thitherunto, unles they passed over the ryver of Ganges also: And that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse that he had bene overcome. At the length, when he sawe and considered that there was great reason in his friendes perswasions which labored to comfort him, and that his souldiers came to the dore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to leade them backe againe: in thende he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those partes, he put forth many vaine and false devises to make his name immortall amonge that people. He made armors of greater proportion then his owne, and mangers for

Digitized by Google

horses, higher then the common sort: moreover, he made bytts also farre heavier then the common sort, and made them to be throwen and scattered abroad in every place. He built great aultars also in honor of the godds, the which the kings of the Præsians have in great veneration at this day: and passing over the river, doe make sacrifices there, after the manner of the Græcians. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and sawe Alexander him selfe, and sayd afterwards, that Alexander had well neare taken and wonne all the contry, the king which then raigned, was so hated of all his subjectes, for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanum, and made divers botes with ores, in the which he easily went downe the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentymes, and did assaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the citie of Mallians, (which they say are the warlikest men of all the Indians) he was almost slaine there. For, having with darts repulsed the ennemies from the wall, he him selfe was the first man that sette foote on a ladder to gett up, the which brake assoone as ever he was gotten upon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together against the wall, did throwe at him from beneathe, and many tymes lighted upon him. Alexander having fewe of his men about him, made no more a doe, but leaped downe from the wall in the middest of his ennemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete. His harnes making a great noyse with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seene some light or spirite goe before him: so that at the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne scatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to them selves, and sawe that he had but two gentlemen onely about him, they came and sette upon him of all handes, and fought with him at the sworde or pushe of the pyke, and so hurt him very sore through his armor: but one amonge the rest, being somewhat further of, gave him such a terrible blowe with an arrowe, that he strake him through his curats, and shot him in at the side under his brest. The blow entred

Alexanders vaine devises to make him selfe immortall.

King Androcottus.

Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

so into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereuppon, he that had striken him with his arrow, ranne sodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit Peucestas and Limnæus stepped before him, and were both hurt: Limnæus was slaine presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length, Alexander selfe slew the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many greevous woundes upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that so astonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking apon his enemies. In the meane time, the Macedonians compassing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a sownde, and was past knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumor straight in the campe, that Alexander was dead. They had much a doe to cut the arrow asonder that was of wodde: so his curats being plucked of with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body, which stucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he sownded so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the daunger, and escaped. Being very weake, he kept diet a long time to recover him selfe, and never came out of his tent: untill he heard the Macedonians cry, and make great noyse about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night gowne, and came out amongest them all: and after he had done sacrifice unto the godds for recovery of his health, he went on his jorney againe, and in the same did conquer many great contreyes, and tooke divers goodly cities. He did also take tenne of the wise men of the contry, which men doe all go naked, and therefore are called Gymnosophistæ, (to wit, Philosophers of India) who had procured Sabbas to rebell against him, and had done great hurt unto the Macedonians. And bicause they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of aunswer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that aunswered him worst, and so the rest in order: and made the eldest amonge them Iudge of their aunswers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

The wise men of India.

Alexanders questions propounded to the ten Philosophers of India.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1. Whether the dead or the living, were the greater number. He aunswered, the living. For the dead sayd he, are no more men.

2. The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures. He aunswered, the earth. For the sea sayd he, is but a part of the earth.

3. To the third man: which of all beastes was the subtillest. That (sayd he) which man hetherto never knew.

4. To the fourth: why did he make Sabbas rebell? Bicause sayd he, he should live honorably, or dye vilely.

5. To the fift, which he thought was first, the daye, or the night? He aunswered, the daye, by a day. The kinge finding his aunswer straunge, added to this speech: Straunge questions, must needes have straunge aunswers.

6. Comming to the sixt man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloved: If he be a good man sayd he, not terrible.

7. To the seventh, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8. To the eight, which was the stronger: life or death? Life, said he, that suffreth so many troubles.

9. And unto the ninth and last man: how long a man should live? Untill sayd he, he thinke it better to dye, then to live.

When Alexander had heard these aunswers, he turned unto the Iudge, and bad him give his judgement upon them. The Iudge said, they had all aunswered one worse then another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, bicause thou hast given such sentence: Not so, O king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lier: bicause thou saidst, that thou wouldest kil him first, that had aunswered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewardes. He sent Onesicritus also unto the other wise men of the Indians, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitary and quiet life: to pray them to come unto him. This Onesicritus the Philosopher, was Diogenes the Ciniks scholler. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wise men, very sharply and proudly bad him put of his clothes, to heare his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though he came from Iupiter him self. Yet Dandamis

Alexander rewarded the ten wise men, and did let them goe.

Onesicritus a Philosopher.

Calanus, other wise called Sphines.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

aunswered him more gently. For he having learned what maner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, said: that they seemed to have bene wise men, and wel borne, notwithstanding that they had reverenced the lawe too much in their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that Dandamis said nothing els, but asked why Alexander had taken so painful a jorney in hand, as to come into India.

Dandamis.

For Calanus, (whose right name otherwise was Sphines) king Taxiles perswaded him to go unto Alexander: who bicause he saluted those he met, in the Indian tongue, saying Cale, as much to say, as God save ye: the Græcians named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did shew Alexander a figure and similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry seare peece of lether, and then put his foote apon one of the endes of it. The leather being troden down on that side, rose up in al partes els, and going up and down with all still treading upon the sides of the leather: he made Alexander see, that the leather being troden downe on the one side, did rise up of al sides els, until such time as he put his foote in the middest of the leather, and then al the whole leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby, was to let Alexander understand, that the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his contry, and not to goe farre from it. Alexander continued seven moneths travelling upon the rivers, to goe see the great sea Oceanum. Then he tooke ship, and sailed into a litle Iland called Scyllustis, howbeit others call it Psitulcis. There he landed, made sacrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatnes and nature of the sea Oceanum, and all the situacion of the coast apon that sea, as farre as he could go. Then he made his praiers unto the gods, that no conqueror living after him should go beyond the bounds of his jorney and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commaunded his ships should fetch a compasse about, and leave India on the right hand: and made Nearchus Admirall of all his fleete, and Onesicritus chiefe Pilote. He him self in the meane time went by land through the contry of the Orites, and there he found great scarsitye of vittels, and lost many of his men: so that he caried not out of India the

Calanus, a wise man of India.

The similitud of a kingdom, shewed by a peece of leather.

Psitulcis an Iland.

Alexanders navie in the sea Oceanum.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in al, six score thowsand footemen, and fifteen thowsand horsmen. Some of them died of greevous disseases, others, by ill diet, others, by extreme heat and drowght, and the most of them by hunger, travailing through this barren contry, where the poore men lived hardly, and had onely a few sheepe which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh savor very il favoredly. At the length, when in three score daies jorney he had painfully travelled through this contry, he then entred into the contry called Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of al kind of vittels, which the governors, kings, and princes, neighbours unto the same, did send unto him. After he had refreshed his army there a litle, he went through the contry of Carmania, where he continued seven daies together banketing, going stil through the contry. For night and day, he was feasting continually with his frends apon a scaffold longer then broad, rising up of height, and drawn with eight goodly horse. After that scaffold followed divers other charrets covered over, some with goodly rich arras, and purple silk, others with trim fresh boughes which they renued at every fields end: and in those were Alexanders other frends and captaines with garlands of flowers apon their heades, which drank and made mery together. In all this armie, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target seene: but gold and silver bowles, cups, and flagons in the souldiers hands, al the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes and vessels which they caried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, and others also set at the table. About them were the minstrels playing and piping on their flutes and shalmes, and women singing and daunsing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this dissolute marching through the contry, and in the middest of their dronkennes, they mingled with it sport: that every man did strive to counterfeat all the insolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus him self had ben there in person, and had led the mommery. When he came unto the kings castel of Gedrosia, he staied there also certein daies to refresh his army with feasting and banketing. It is said, that one day when he had dronke

Alexanders armie going in to India.

Sheepe fed with fishe.

The contry of Gedrosia.

The contry of Carmania.

The riot of Alexanders souldiers.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

hard, he went to see the games for daunsing: and amongst them, the games which a yong man called Bagoas had set forth, (with whom Alexander fel in liking) and bare the bel. This Bagoas being in his daunsing garments, came through the Theater, and sat him downe by Alexander. The Macedonians were so glad of it, that they showted and clapped their hands for joy, crying out alowde, to kisse him: So that in fine he toke him in his armes, and kissed him, before them all. Thither came Nearchus his Admiral unto him: who made report what he had sene and done in this navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to saile by sea him self: and so, entring into the sea Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleete of ships, to compasse in all the coasts of Arabia and Africke, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum, by the straights of the pillers of Hercules. To this intent he built a great number of ships in the city of Thapsacus, and sent for mariners, shipmasters, and pilots, out of al parts. But now, the difficultie of the jorney which he tooke apon him for the conquest of India, the daunger he was in when he fought with the Mallians, and the number of his men which he lost besides which was very great, al these things considered together, making men beleve that he should never return with safetie: they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, and gave his governors and Lieuetenants of provinces occasion to commit great insolencies, robberies, and exactions of people. To be short, it put al his kingdom in broile and sedition. Insomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rising against Antipater, they devided his government betwene them: Olympias chosing for her, the kingdom of Epirus: and Cleopatra, the kingdom of Macedon. Which when Alexander had heard, he said his mother was the wisest: for the realme of Macedon would never have suffred a woman to raigne over them. Therupon he sent Nearchus back again to the sea, determining to fil all the sea coasts with warre. As he travelled through the contries farre from the sea, he put his capteines and governors to death, which had revolted against him: and of those he slue Oxyarthes, one of Abulites sonnes, by his own hand, ronning him thorow

The citie of Thapsacus.

The provinces conquered by Alexander, rebelled against him.

Digitized by Google

with a pike. And when Abulites self also had brought Alexander iij thowsand talents only, without any other provision made for vittels for his army: he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then sayd he unto him: I pray thee to what purpose serveth this provision? and therwithal immediatly committed him to prison. As he came through the contry of Persia, he first renued the old custom there, which was: that as often times as the kings did return home from any far jorney, they gave unto every woman a crown a peece. It is said therfore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did not returne again into their contry: and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once returne back again, willingly banishing him self out of his contry, of niggardlines, because he would not be at this charg. After that, Cyrus tomb (king of Persia) being found and broken up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a Macedonian of the citye of Pella, (and none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he had red the inscription written apon it in the Persian tongue, he would needes also have it written in the Greeke tongue: and this it was: 'O man, what so thou art, and whencesoever thou 'commest, for I knowe thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that 'conquered the Empire of Persia, I pray thee envy me not 'for this litle earth that covereth my body.' These words pearced Alexanders hart, when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things. There also, Calanus the Indian Philosopher, having had a flyxe a litle while, praied that they would make him a stacke of wod, such as they use to burne dead bodies on, and then rode thither a horse back: and after he had made his praier unto the godds, he cast those sprincklings apon him, which were used to be sprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting of a locke of his heare before he went up on the wodstacke, he bad al the Macedonians that were there farewel, and shooke them by the hands, praying them that day to be mery, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the citye of Babylon. When he had said these words, he layd him down upon the wodstack, covered his face, and never sturred

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The death of Polymachus Pelleian.

Cyrus Epitaph over his tomb.

Calanus the Indian did sacrifice him selfe alive.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

hand nor foote, nor quinched when the fire tooke him, but did sacrifice him self in this sort, as the maner of his contry was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves. An other Indian also, who followed Iulius Cæsar, did the like many yeares after in the citye of Athens: and there is his tombe yet to be seene, commonly called the Indians tombe. When Alexander came from seing this sacrifice of Calanus, he did bid divers of his frends and Capteines to supper to him: and there did bring forth a crown for a reward unto him that drank best. He that drank most of al other, was one Promachus, that drank foure gallons of wine, and wan the crown, worth a talent: but he lived not above three dayes after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one and forty persons: of an extreme cold that tooke them in their dronkennes and wine. When they were in the citie of Susa, he married certein of his frends, and him self also married Statira, one of king Darius Daughters, disposing also of the other Persian Ladies (according to their estate and birth) unto his best frends. He made also a solemne feast of common mariages amongst the Macedonians, of them that had ben maried before: At which feast, it is written, that nine thowsand persons sitting at the bords, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderful gifts, he did pay al the dets the Macedonians ought unto their creditors, the which amounted unto the summe of tenne thowsand talents saving a hundred and thirty lesse. Wherupon Antigenes with one eye, falsely putting in his name amongest the number of the detters, and bringing in one that said he had lent him money: Alexander caused him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proved to his face, that there was no such matter: Alexander then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, and deprived him of his captainship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed him self a valiant man in the warrs. For when he was but a yong man, he was shot into the eye, before the city of Perinthe, which king Philip did beseege: and at that present time they would have pluckt the arrow out of

Alexander made men drinke to wyn a game and price.

The Macedonians maried unto the Persians.

The wonderfull giftes of Alexander.

Alexander payed the soldiers dets.

Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, banished the court for making a lye.

Digitized by Google

his eye, but he never fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pul it out, before he had first driven his enemies within the wals of their citie. He toke this infamy very inwardly, and he was so sory for it, that every man might see he was like to die for sorow. Then Alexander fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bad him besides kepe the money which was given him. Now the 30000 young boyes which Alexander had left to the government of Capteines, to trayne and exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being growen stronge men, and lusty youthes, excellently well trained and ready in armes: Alexander rejoyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discorage the Macedonians, and made them greatly affraid, bicause they thought that from henceforth the king would make lesse accompt of them. For when Alexander would have sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low contry, to the sea side: they aunswered him, that so doing he should do them great wronge, to send these poore men from him in that sort, (after they had done him all the service they could) home to their contry and frends, in worse case then he tooke them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men unserviceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yong daunsers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. Alexander was marvelously offended with their prowd words, insomuch that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary gard, and tooke other Persians in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his usshers, heraulds, and ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore Macedonians seeing Alexander thus waited on, and them selves so shamefully rejected: they let fall their stoutnes, and after they had commoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare themselves for spite and malice. In fine when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go unto his tent and without weapons, naked in their shirts to yeld themselves unto him, weping and howling, beseching him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankful

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Thirty thowsand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of wars by Alexanders commaundement.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somwhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their waies, but remained there 2 daies and nights together, in this pitiful state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting unto him, and calling him their soveraine and king: untill that he came him self out of his tent the third day, and seing the poore wretches in this greevous and pitiful state, he him self fel a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked them, he called them curteously, and gave the impotent and sick persons leave to depart home, rewarding them very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote unto Antipater his Lieutenant, that he should alwaies give them the highest place in al common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreover, he commaunded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the warrs, should receive the pay of their fathers. After Alexander was come unto the citie of Ecbatana, in the kingdom of Medea, and that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gave him self again unto publike sportes, feasts, and pastimes, for that there were newly come unto him out of Græce, 3 thowsand excellent masters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chaunced, that Hephæstion fell sicke of an agew. But he beeing a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spyed oportunitie that his Phisitian Glaucus was gone unto the Theater, to see the sports and pastimes: He went to dinner, and eate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereuppon his fever tooke him so sorely, that he lived not long after. Alexander unwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, and commaunded all the heares of his horse and mules to be presently shorn in token of mourning, and that al the battlements of the wals of cities should also be overthrown, and hong up pore Glaucus his Phisitian upon a crosse, and commaunded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: until that there was brought him an oracle from Iupiter Hammon, commaunding that Hephæstion should be worshipped and sacrificed unto, as a demy god. In the end, to

The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander unto his soldiers.

The death of Hephæstion.

Alexanders sorow for the death of Hephæstion.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

passe over his mourning and sorow, he went unto the warres, as unto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossæians, whom he pluckt up by the rootes, and slue man, woman, and childe. And this was called the sacrifice of Hephæstions funeralls. Alexander furthermore beeing desirous to bestowe tenne thowsand talents coste uppon his obsequies and funeralls, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenes and excellencie of workemanshippe: amongest all other excellent workemasters, he desired one Stasicrates, for he had ever passing invention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any newe thinges he tooke in hande. For he talking one daye with Alexander, tolde him, that of all the Mountaynes he knewe in the worlde, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Atho in Thracia: and that if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should bee in the world, which in his left hand should hold a citie to conteine ten thowsand persons, and out of his right hand, there should ronne a great river into the sea. Yet Alexander would not harken to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more straunge inventions, and farre greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his jorney to go unto Babylon: Nearchus his Admirall came againe unto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the river of Euphrates, and tolde him, how certaine Chaldean Soothsayers came unto him, who did warne him that he should not goe into Babylon. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of Babylon, he saw a great number of crowes fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell downe deade hard by him. Afterwards being told him that Apollodorus the governor of the citie of Babylon, having sacrificed unto the goddes, to knowe what should happen to him: he sent for the Soothsayer Pithagoras, to knowe of him if it were true. The Soothsayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him, what signes he had in the sacrifice. He aunswered, that the lyver of the beast had no head. O gods, said Alexander then, this is an ill signe: notwithstanding he did

Stasicrates an excellent image maker.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Pithagoras no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not beleve Nearchus words. For this respect therefore Alexander lay much abroade in the contry from Babylon, and did take his pleasure rowing up and downe the river of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill signes and tokens one upon another, that made him afraid. For there was a tame asse that killed one of the greatest and goodliest Lions in all Babylon, with one of his feete. Another time when Alexander had put of his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he should put on his apparel again, the yong gentleman that plaied with him, found a man set in his chaier of estate, having the kings diademe on his head, and his gowne on his back, and said never a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them aunswer, but at the length comming to him self, he said his name was Dionysius, borne in Messina: and being accused for certein crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thether, where he had bene a long time prisoner, and also that the god Serapis had appeared unto him, and undone his irons, and that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne and his diademe, and to sit him downe in his chaier of estate, and say never a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counsail of his Soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his frends. But first of al, Alexander feared Antipater and his sonnes, above all other. For one of them called Iolas, was his first cupbearer: and his brother called Cassander, was newly come out of Græce unto him. The first time that Cassander saw some of the barbarous people reverencing Alexander, he having bene brought up with the libertie of Græce, and had never seene the like before: fel into a lowd laughing very unreverently. Therwith king Alexander was so offended, that he tooke him by the heare of his head with both his hands, and knocked his head and the wal together. Another time also when Cassander did aunswer some that accused his father Antipater: king Alexander tooke him up sharply, and said unto him: What saiest thou? said he. Doost thou thinke that these men would have gon so long a jorney

Divers signes before Alexanders death.

Alexander feared Antipater.

Digitized by Google

as this, falsly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? Cassander again replyed unto Alexander, and said, that that was a manifest proofe of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him being so farre of, bicause they thought they could not sodainly be disproved. Alexander thereat fel a laughing a good, and said, Lo, these are Aristotles quiddities to argue *pro* and *contra*: but this will not save you from punishment, if I find that you have done these men wronge. In fine, they report that Cassander tooke such an inward feare and conceit upon it, that long time after when he was king of Macedon, and had all Græce at his commaundement: going up and downe the citie of Delphes, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander, which put him into such a sodaine feare, that the heares of his head stoode upright, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to him selfe againe. Nowe after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the goddes, his minde was so troubled and affraide, that no straunge thinge happened unto him, (how litle so ever it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the godds: so that his tent was alwayes full of Priestes and Soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tende unto divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the godds, when it is begotten in the harts of men, and supersticion also so dreadfull, that it filleth the gilty consciences and fearefull hartes like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that feare had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some aunswers touching Hephæstion from the oracle of Iupiter Hammon, he left his sorow, and returned again to his bankets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, beeing ready to goe to bed, Medius one of his Capteines besought him to come to a banket to him at his lodging. Alexander went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so that he got an agew by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking uppe Hercules cuppe all at a drawght: neither for

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander fell sicke of an agew.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Aristobulus report of the sicknes and death of Alexander.

the sodaine paine he felt betweene his showlders, as if he had beene thrust into the backe with a speare. For all these were thought to be written by some, for lyes and fables, bicause they would have made the ende of this great tragedie lamentable and pitifull. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extreame fever and thirst withall, that he dranke wine, and after that fel a raving, and at the length dyed the thirtie day of the month of Iune. In his houshold booke of things passed dayly, it is written, that his fever beeing apon him, he slept in his hottehouse on the eyghtenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hottehouse, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that daye with Medius, playing at dyce: and at nyght very late, after he had bathed him selfe and sacrificed unto the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his fever that nyght. And the twenty daye also, bathing him selfe againe, and making his ordinary sacrifice to the goddes, he did sitte downe to eate within his stoove, harkening unto Nearchus that tolde him straunge thinges he had seene in the great sea Oceanum. The one and twenty day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt him selfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great fever: and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be set uppe by the fish pondes, where he commoned with his capteines touching certaine roomes that were void in his armie, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twenty day having an extreame fever upon him, he was caried unto the sacrifices, and commaunded that his chiefest Capteines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as centiniers or Lieuetenants of bands, that they should watch and ward without. The foure and twenty day, he was caried unto the other pallace of the kings, which is on thother side of the lake, where he slept a litle, but the fever never left him: and when his Capteines and noble men came to doe him humble reverence, and to see him, he lay speechles. So did he the five and twenty day also: insomuch as the Macedonians thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

at the pallace gate, and cried out unto his friendes and familiers, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereuppon the gates were opened, and they comming in their gownes went unto his bed side to see him. That selfe day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god Serapis, to knowe if they should bringe king Alexander thither. The god aunswered them, that they should not remove him from thence. The eight and twenty day at night Alexander dyed. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houshold booke of remembrance. At that present tyme, there was no suspition that he was poysoned. Yet they say, that six yeares after, there appeared some proofe that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gave him poyson in his drinke. They that thinke it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose meane the poyson was brought: they say that Agnothemis reported it, having heard it of king Antigonus owne mouth. The poyson (as some say) was cold as Ise, and falleth from a rocke in the territory of the citie of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a deawe into the horne of the foote of an asse, for there is no other kinde of thinge that will keepe it, it is so extreme cold and percing. Others defend it, and say, that the report of his poysoning is untrue: and for proofe therof they alleage this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest Capteines fel at great variance after his death, so that the corps of Alexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whot dry contry, and yet there never appeared any signe or token apon his body, that he was poysoned, but was still a cleane and faire corps as could be. Alexander left Roxane great with childe, for the which the Macedonians did her great honor: but she did malice Statira extreamely, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeat letter she sent, as if it had comen from Alexander, willing her to come unto him. But when she was come, Roxane killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into a well, and filled it up with earth, by

The death of Alexander the great.

Aristotle suspected for the poysoning of Alexander.

Statira slaine by Roxane.

Digitized by Google

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Aridæus, Alexanders bastard brother.

Perdiccas helpe and consent. Perdiccas came to be king immediatly after Alexanders death, by meanes of Aridæus, whom he kept about him for his gard and safety. This Aridæus, beeing borne of a common strumpet and common woman, called Phillina, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chaunce: but, as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes, which Olympias caused to be geven him, and thereby continued franticke.

THE END OF ALEXANDERS LIFE

886

V 12 J

16149-S

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 005 620 930

884
P12 NA

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

Digitized by Google